

JPRS 78631

29 July 1981

# South and East Asia Report

No. 1032



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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## SOUTH AND EAST ASIA REPORT

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## CONTENTS

## BANGLADESH

Baghdad Meeting's Resolution on Zia Rahman (THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER, 10 Jun 81) .....	1
Obaidur Rahman Addresses 10 June Condolence Meeting (THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER, 11 Jun 81) .....	2
Chief of Staff Praises Navy's Loyalty (THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER, 10 Jun 81) .....	4
Labor Minister's Speech at Geneva Conference (Reaz Uddin Ahmed; THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER, 12 Jun 81) ....	5
Growth in Overall Industrial Production Seen (Muzaffar Hussain; THE BANGLADESH TIMES, 11 Jun 81) .....	8
Export Promotion Council Proposes 1981-82 Target (THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER, 12 Jun 81) .....	11
Parliament Passes Supplementary Railway Budget (THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER, 12 Jun 81) .....	13
Briefs	
General Made Ambassador	14
New Swiss Ambassador	14
General Matin Retired	14
Accused Assassins Sought	14
General Mamun Retired	14
World Food Conference	14
General Ullah Retired	15
Tripura Border Inspected	15

## INDIA

Subrahmanyam Writes on India's Defense Needs (K. Subrahmanyam; THE TIMES OF INDIA, 27, 29 Jun 81) .....	16
--	----

Defense Studies Head Comments on Pakistan Policy (K. Subrahmanyam; THE STATESMAN, 26, 27 Jun 81) .....	23
BJP Chief Urges Pakistan To Cease Arms Purchases (THE STATESMAN, 30 Jun 81) .....	27
Gandhi's 26 Jun Speech in Patna Summarized (THE STATESMAN, 27 Jun 81) .....	28
CPI Leader Issues Statement on Hua Visit (PATRIOT, 1 Jul 81) .....	30
Gandhi 27 Jun Speech, Press Conference Reported (THE STATESMAN, 28 Jun 81) .....	32
USSR-India Friendship, Cooperation (SOVIET MILITARY REVIEW, Feb 81) .....	33
Venezuelan Foreign Minister Talks to Press (PATRIOT, 1 Jul 81) .....	35
Tripura Extremists Form Government-in-Exile (THE STATESMAN, 27 Jun 81) .....	38
Mizo, Tripura Rebels Intensify Levy Drive (PATRIOT, 28 Jun 81) .....	39
Tibetans Demonstrate in Front of PRC Embassy (THE STATESMAN, 27 Jun 81) .....	40
CPI-M Reportedly Worried Over Assam Stance (THE TIMES OF INDIA, 1 Jul 81) .....	41
Writer Examines Progress of CPI-M in West Bengal (Sivadas Banerjee; THE TIMES OF INDIA, 30 Jun 81) .....	42
CPI-M Meeting Passes Resolution on Indochina (PATRIOT, 28 Jun 81) .....	45
West Bengal Seeks More Powers for States (PATRIOT, 28 Jun 81) .....	46
Details of, Reaction to Assam President's Rule (THE TIMES OF INDIA, 1 Jul 81) .....	47
Reasons for Assam Chief's Resignation Given (THE STATESMAN, 1 Jul 81) .....	49
Dissidents Step Up Campaign To Oust Bihar Chief (THE TIMES OF INDIA, 24 Jun 81) .....	51
Expulsion of 15 CPI Members Recommended (PATRIOT, 27 Jun 81) .....	53



Implications of Garhwal Repoll Order Studied (Nitish Chakravarty; THE HINDU, 27 Jun 81) .....	54
Congress-I Group Demands Review of Garhwal Decision (THE TIMES OF INDIA, 29 Jun 81) .....	57
Madhya Pradesh Cabinet Appointments Announced (PATRIOT, 1 Jul 81) .....	58
Banaras Vice Chancellor's Appointment Waived (THE STATESMAN, 27 Jun 81) .....	60
Karnataka Newspapers Sued Under National Secrets Act (THE STATESMAN, 27 Jun 81) .....	61
Kerala Chief Minister Talks to Calcutta Press (THE TIMES OF INDIA, 28 Jun 81) .....	62
Afghan Refugee Influx Reported Slackening (THE TIMES OF INDIA, 30 Jun 81) .....	64
Home Minister Reports Plan To Modernize Police (PATRIOT, 28 Jun 81) .....	65
Sixth Plan Based on Low Census Estimate (PATRIOT, 28 Jun 81) .....	66
Bangladesh Tribals Continue To Cross Border (THE STATESMAN, 30 Jun 81) .....	67
Prominent Labor Leader's Murder Reported (THE STATESMAN, 1 Jul 81) .....	68
Trade Deficit Reportedly May Upset Plan (J. D. Singh; THE TIMES OF INDIA, 1 Jul 81) .....	69
Tea Exports Increase, Affected by Strikes (PATRIOT, 1 Jul 81) .....	71
Experts Recommend Underground Coal Gasification (Ashraff Sayed; THE TIMES OF INDIA, 28 Jun 81) .....	72
Soviet Experts To Start Work on Coal Projects (PATRIOT, 28 Jun 81) .....	75
BHEL Evolves Waste Wheat Recovery System (THE HINDU, 29 May 81) .....	76
Importance of Rajasthan Zinc Find Noted (THE TIMES OF INDIA, 1 Jul 81) .....	78
'Huge Escalation' in Fertilizer Project Costs Reported (G. K. Pandey; THE TIMES OF INDIA, 1 Jul 81) .....	80

India To Cooperate in Senegal Fertilizer Project (PATRIOT, 1 Jul 81) .....	82
---	----

#### KAMPUCHEA

Sihanouk Discussed Personal, Kampuchean Future (THE NATION REVIEW, 11 Jun, 5 Jul 81) .....	84
---	----

Debunks United Front, by Jacques Bekaert  
Wishes To Live in Thailand

#### NEPAL

Elections Create Political Confusion, Unrest (Aditya Man Shrestha; THE MUSLIM, 5 Jul 81) .....	88
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BAGHDAD MEETING'S RESOLUTION ON ZIA RAHMAN

Dacca THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 10 Jun 81 p 1

[Text] The 12th Islamic Foreign Ministers' Conference held in Baghdad in the first week of June expressed its profound condolences at the tragic assassination of President Ziaur Rahman who is also the Vice Chairman of the OIC by treacherous hands according to reports says BSS.

The 12th Islamic Foreign Ministers' Conference unanimously adopted the following resolution by acclamation on martyrdom of late President Ziaur Rahman.

The 12th Islamic Foreign Ministers' Conference held in Baghdad from the 29th of Rajab to the fourth Saban 1401 Hizri corresponding to 1st to 6th June 1981 expresses profound condolences at the tragic assassination of His Excellency President Ziaur Rahman of Bangladesh and the Vice Chairman of Islamic Conference by treacherous hands. Recalls his immense contribution to the Islamic Ummah, his untiring efforts till his martyrdom to further the cause of peace and security of the Muslim countries in particular and of the world in general. Notes with deep gratitude his unconditional devotion, based on his firm conviction in the principles and objectives of the organisation of Islamic Conference, for the liberation of Al-Quds Al-Sharif particularly in his capacity as a member of the summit committee of the Jerusalem Committee and to bring about a peaceful solution of the armed conflict between the two Muslim countries of Iraq-Iran as a member of the Islamic Peace Commission: Considers His Excellency President Ziaur Rahman as an outstanding Islamic personality who during his life time had dedicated his entire energy to the upliftment of people of Bangladesh by providing them a sense of direction and unity of purpose and to further strengthening of Islamic solidarity: Recalls importance of the commitment to the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of states, whether directly or indirectly, including respect of their sovereignty and territorial integrity and their political, economic, culture and social systems: Assures the Government of Bangladesh of full support of the Organisation of Islamic Conference at this critical moment of their history and in maintenance of their complete independence and total sovereignty, defence of their legitimate interests and the Islamic spiritual, moral, cultural, social and economic values of their people in fulfilment of the efforts of the martyred President Ziaur Rahman.

CSO: 4220/7151

OBAIDUR RAHMAN ADDRESSES 10 JUNE CONDOLENCE MEETING

Dacca THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 11 Jan 81 pp 1, 12

[Text] Faridpur, June 10—Minister for Civil Aviation and Tourism Mr. K.M. Obaidur Rahman said that only the constitutional Government could face the challenge of the time effectively which had been authenticated again by the present Government after the sad demise of President Ziaur Rahman, says a Press release.

Addressing a huge BNP workers meeting at Kabi Jashimuddin Hall today to condole the death of late President, the Minister said that BNP would uphold the dignity of Constitution, democratic way of life, multi-party political system as well as sovereign parliament.

He said that the greater responsibility of preserving the democratic order and institutions lay with the workers of BNP as our late leader preserved this ideal in his life time.

Terming the late President as champion of democracy and self-sacrifice, Mr. Obaidur Rahman said that the late leader conquered the hearts of the millions through dedication and sincere service to the nation and earned respect far and wide. He urged the workers to take fresh vow to fulfil the cherished desire of the founder father of the party.

Speaking about the system of Government Mr. Obaidur Rahman said that several opposition political parties were advocating in favour of parliamentary system of Government but the matter put an end in the Presidential polls of 1978 while people gave their verdict in favour of Presidential system. He called upon the Opposition to choose their nominee for the ensuing Presidential poll and if they voted, they would be able to form the government as per their desire.

He said that BNP would select a candidate among its own for coming Presidential poll and workers of the party were fully prepared to help in holding the election in a peaceful manner. He also said that BNP would materialise the 19-point programme at any cost and bring prosperity and happiness to the common man. The Minister also urged his party workers to increase their organisational activities and maintain unity at all levels.

Presided over by Mr. Abdul Mannan Sikder, former State Minister, the meeting was also addressed among others by Mrs Farida Rahman, Whip of the Parliament, Advocate Golam Mustafa, MP Kazi Mahbub Ahmed, MP Sardar Nasiruddin, MP Mrs Shamsun Nahar, MP Advocate Sarwar Jan Miah, Mr. Mostain Billah, Toku Biswas, Mr. Abdul Matin Mollah and Mr. Sheikh Sawkat Hossain Milu and other BNP and Jubo Dal leaders. The meeting observed two minutes silence and prayed for the salvation of the departed soul of late President Ziaur Rahman.

CSO: 4220/7154



**BANGLADESH**

**CHIEF OF STAFF PRAISES NAVY'S LOYALTY**

Dacca THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 10 Jun 81 p 1

[Text] Khulna, June 9—Chief of the Naval Staff Rear Admiral M. A. Khan visited the BNS Titumir here today says an ISPR Press release.

Addressing the officers and sailors of the Naval Base Admiral Khan observed that Bangladesh Navy will continue to shoulder the responsibilities of safeguarding national solidarity, sovereignty and independence hand in hand with the two other sister services under all trying circumstances.

The Chief of Naval Staff emphatically said that the naval personnel at Chittagong did not bow down to the threats of the miscreants who killed President Ziaur Rahman.

He further said that they showed a commendable sense of discipline, patriotism and loyalty to the Government.

Admiral Khan expressed his satisfaction over the fact that naval personnel at all other ships and establishments also remained disciplined and united under their respective commands.

Paying rich tributes to President Ziaur Rahman and others who laid down their lives in their efforts to save the life of the late President the Naval Chief said that President Zia inspired and patronised efforts for building up the Navy as an effective force to safeguard maritime boundaries of the country.

Later, Admiral Khan also addressed officers and sailors of a naval unit at Mongla.

Accompanied by the Asst Chief of Naval Staff Commodore Sultan Ahmed the Chief of Naval Staff was received and seen off by Captain M. Rahman the Naval Officer in Charge at Khulna.

CSO: 4220/7151

# LABOR MINISTER'S SPEECH AT GENEVA CONFERENCE

Dacca THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 12 Jun 81 p 5

[Speech by Reaz Uddin Ahmed, minister for labor and industrial welfare, at the International Labor Conference in Geneva, date not given]

[Text] The following is the statement made by Mr. Reaz Uddin Ahmed, Minister for Labour and Industrial Welfare, in the International Labour Conference being held in Geneva from June 3-25, 1981.

I take this opportunity to extend our heartfelt congratulations to you, Mr. President, on your election to the August office of chairmanship of the 67th International Labour Conference. I am sure that under your enlightened guidance the Conference will come to a successful conclusion and promote the achievement of its goals and objectives.

Mr. President before I proceed farther, I would like to mention before this August assembly with an extremely heavy heart that at this moment Bangladesh is totally overwhelmed by most profound grief due to the recent brutal and heinous assassination of our great and beloved leader President Ziaur Rahman. The magnitude of this calamity for Bangladesh is undeniably massive. The people of Bangladesh are now even more determined to march ahead along the path of democracy laid down by our departed leader, guided by his thoughts and inspired by the great example of his total selflessness and absolute dedication.

One year has passed since we met last but unfortunately the World Political and economic situation has not improved rather has deteriorated. The world is still plagued by the harmful effects of regional ideological clashes leading to wasteful expenditures on armaments, population growth and the widening of gap between

the rich and the poor people, particularly the growing income disparity between the industrialized countries and the so-called Third World countries. If we are to be ensured in the world unemployment and poverty will have to be eliminated and social justice for all will have to be ensured. The coming years will therefore, be very decisive in carrying forward these ideas for implementation.

Although it falls short of expectations and requirements of Third world countries, I am happy to say that the United Nations General Assembly has adopted an International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade. The Secretary asserts that the ultimate end of development is social and human and it aims at creating a better and more equitable International Economic Order. The establishment of New International Economic Order will however depend on global negotiations on international economic cooperation for development where commitment was provided for in Resolution No. 3201 of the UN General Assembly. I am very sorry to say that not much progress has been made in this respect. I am, however, hopeful that the industrialized countries will realize the gravity of the situation and respond to the just demands of the Third World countries.

The I.L.O has an important role to play in implementing this strategy. The Medium term Plan of I.L.O. for 1982-87 will go a long way in fulfilling I.L.O's obligations vis-a-vis the Third Decade. We look forward to work shoulder to shoulder with the U.N and various international agencies in successful implementation of this Strategy for the economic and social progress of all peoples. The I.L.O whose goal is to promote among others economic growth with social justice, should pursue this goal vigorously in various forums so that the ideal of establishing a New International Economic Order can be attained. I sincerely hope that the proposed North South summit to be held in Mexico City in October 1981 will lead to positive and constructive conclusions and pave the way for fruitful global negotiations on international economic co-operation.

Mr. President may I take this opportunity to stress that work on restructuring of I.L.O in the light of changing circumstances and new imperatives should be completed at the earliest. Since the founding of this organization over sixty years ago many new and developing countries have become members of this august body bringing with them new problems and challenges. The dominance of a few industrialized countries and

centralization of decision making as present so evident in I.L.O.'s structure should make room for wider participation by all member countries and greater responsiveness. The regional offices of I.L.O. should be strengthened and funds be made available to them in an equitable manner, so that they can draw up and implement regional budgets and programmes. The idea of formation of committees or some sort of governing councils consisting of labour Ministers of member countries at the regional level to formulate and review progress of regional programmes on the pattern of ESCAP needs serious consideration. The outlines of our proposal in this regard were given by me in my address at the International Labour Conference last year and the Conference of Asian and Pacific Ministers held at Manila in January 81. May I also say in this connection that my Government welcomes early entry of West Asian countries in the Asian group of I.L.O. and necessary steps should be taken in this regard as early as possible.

The report of the Director General presented to this Conference for consideration is comprehensive and illuminating. I wish to congratulate Mr. Francis Blanchard and the office for putting in hard work for this. I am aware of the importance of the activities of I.L.O. and I am convinced that the future programme of this organization will continue to grow in size and dimension and is geared to the needs and requirements of the member countries particularly of the workers and the employers.

The United Nations General Assembly has declared 1981 as the International Year of Disabled Persons. I agree with the Director General for adopting this as the major theme for this Conference. Disabled persons have the same basic aspirations and rights as everyone else. However, the magnitude of the disablement problem or the role of the society, in other words of the fortunate able bodied people to their less fortunate brethren is not properly recognized or appreciated. I fully agree when the D.G. in his report says that no organization is better placed than the I.L.O. to help achieve the principal objectives of the International Year. These objectives are aimed at encouraging the rehabilitation of the world's 450 million disabled people. Vocational rehabilitation services should provide the starting point from which persons with disabilities can attain social and economic independence.

and the self respect and dignity which go with them. I fully endorse the action programme suggested in this regard by the Director General in his report.

In Bangladesh the number of disabled persons is fairly large. There are reportedly 300,000 blind persons in the country and other types of disabled persons may be of the same magnitude or not more. The war of liberation in 1971 has added to the number of disabled persons. The Government of Bangladesh is aware of the problem and is taking measures with the help of specialized U.N. agencies and voluntary organizations for the rehabilitation of such disabled persons. It has also taken steps for the treatment of such people so that they can overcome the handicaps of their disablement. In this regard to the workers who become disabled due to injury or develop occupational diseases in course of work the Government of Bangladesh has decided to set up a Centre for Occupational Diseases Analysis. We are also conducting training facilities and social measures and rehabilitation in mills and factories so that the incidence of accidents is minimised. We hope that all these measures will go a long way in reducing the problem of disablement in our country.

I fully share the views of the Director General regarding the growing concern of governments, employers and organized labour for greater I.L.O. involvement in vocational rehabilitation programmes. This concern is reflected not only in the resolution concerning disabled persons adopted by the International Labour Conference in 1979 but also in the Governing Body discussions on the need to update the Vocational Rehabilitation (D) which Recommendation 193 (No. 99) and on the I.L.C.'s role in helping to attain the aims and objectives of the International Year of Disabled Persons with its theme of "full participation and equality".

Mr. President it is my pleasure to reiterate that the Government of Bangladesh has recently announced a democratic labour policy in the country which among others ensures freedom of association, trade union rights and collective bargaining. Government attaches great importance to tripartite consultations. Government also believes that without augmenting the welfare of workers and ensuring living wages to them no labour law can be successful. With this end in view, it

is setting up new labour welfare centres besides improving the existing ones. Adult education, family planning services and sports and recreational facilities are being provided through these centres. Participation committees are being set up in industrial units to involve workers and management jointly in decision making in management housing colonies and medical clinics are being established to look after the workers' needs. We are stressing that increase in productivity and welfare for the workers are interlinked and labour unions have a great role to play in promoting this consciousness among the workers. Government has launched an Industrial Revolution Programme with a view to increasing production in mills and factories and providing greater welfare and services to the working class.

Mr. President along with organized labour we will have to give greater attention to the rural areas where the majority of our people live. Rural unemployment and rural poverty is increasing particularly

in the developing countries despite economic growth. Unless the economic conditions of rural people are improved and they are involved in planning and developmental activities through suitable institutional arrangements, it will not be possible to stop migration from rural to urban areas to reduce inequality of income to raise general living conditions and to maintain social tensions. Inspired by our late President Ziaur Rahman Bangladesh Government have launched self reliant village governments which has for the first time unleashed latent energies of the people in the villages and ensured people's participation in planning and implementation of development programmes. This innovative approach to mobilise rural work force and make them self reliant has ushered in a new era of hope and possibilities in our country.

The I.L.O. through its standard setting activities and participation in development projects of member countries has earned reputation as a catalytic change agent. I hope that this organization will pursue its efforts in this regard and play an effective role in providing technical assistance as well as furthering technical cooperation on regional as well as international basis.

I am very happy to say here that Bangladesh joined I.L.O. soon after its independence in

1971. Bangladesh is fully committed to the promotion of the ideals and goals of this organization and has made its humble

contributions in various forums of I.L.O towards the attainment of these goals and for the welfare of mankind.

It has also been a great honour and opportunity for us to serve as a titular member of the Governing Body since 1978. I

am very happy to note that Bangladesh has been included as one of the candidates for titular membership from the Asian state for the term 1981

82 by the Hon'ble Labour Ministers of Asian and Pacific countries in their conference held in Manila in January last.

I am grateful to them for their trust and would like to place on record our sincere thanks to them. We hope that our candidature will receive kind consideration and support from

all member countries of this organization. On behalf of Bangladesh Government, let me assure you that we will do our best to justify this trust and prove this organization to the best of our ability in future.

Bangladesh is opposed to all forms of colonialism, neo colonialism, racism and supports the rights of self determination of all peoples struggling against colonial rule. It supports the legitimate national rights of the people of Palestine and

partition of illegally occupied Arab territories by Israel and would urge for a satisfactory solution of the problem for ensuring lasting peace in the Middle East. It condemns the policy of apartheid and discrimination in all forms pursued

by the present regime in South Africa. It also urges the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan and Kampuchea leaving their people free to decide their own destiny and determine their political, economic and social systems without any outside intervention and interference military or otherwise.

With these words, Mr. President, I wish to conclude my statement. I hope that the Conference will be a success and the I.L.O. will live up to its expectations. I thank you Mr. President, Excellencies and fellow delegates for giving me a pleasant hearing.

CSO: 4220/7158



GROWTH IN OVERALL INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION SEEN

Dacca THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 11 Jun 81 pp 1, 8

[Article by Mizaffar Hussain]

[Text] The performance of public sector industries has been satisfactory during the first nine months of the current year and the overall industrial production is estimated to increase by nine per cent during 1980-81, according to official sources.

Statistics show that except in some fields, production of most of the industrial items had gone up over the last year. The production of jute goods has gone up by 13 per cent, cotton yarn by 11 per cent, sugar by 52 per cent, safety matches by four per cent, cement by five per cent, caustic soda by 48 per cent, bus, trucks and cars by 43 per cent, motor cycle by 13 per cent, diesel engine by 523 per cent, steel ingot by nine per cent, television by 261 p.c., wood procurement by 23 per cent, pole, post and sleeper by 48 per cent and raw rubber by 25 per cent.

The items whose production had shown decrease were: newsprint by 17 per cent, TSP by six per cent, urea by four per cent, ammonium sulphate by 10 per cent, radio by 30 per cent, cycle by 64 per cent, soap by 33 per cent, shrimps and froglegs by 22 per cent.

The decreased production of urea has been ascribed to closure of the urea factory for 65 days for overhauling, power disruption and mechanical trouble. The TSP factory was kept closed for (756) days due to piling up of stock. The production of fertilizer is expected to increase substantially when Ashuganj Fertilizer Factory, country's largest such plant, goes into experimental production this year.

The production of newsprint decreased following closure of the mills for overall renovation of both its boilers.

The fall in the production of shrimps and froglegs has, however, been a matter of concern. During 1979-80, the production of these items fell by 26 per cent over that of 1978-79 while this year the production decreased by 22 per cent over 1979-80.



The United States of America and the United Kingdom were main importers of shrimps and froglegs from Bangladesh. But these countries imposed ban on the import of these items from Bangladesh. The export however is yet to regain its lost speed despite lifting of the ban.

#### Jute Industry

Although the production of jute goods increased by 13 per cent over 1979-80 figure, the jute mills are expected to attain only 96.61 per cent of their target. During 1980-81, the target for production of jute goods was fixed at 6.11 lakh tons, the total production has been estimated at 5.90 lakh tons. During 1979-80, the actual production was 5.22 lakh tons.

One of the causes for decreased production in jute mills is opening of third shift where most of the temporary and 'badli' workers were transferred.

Other reasons for production shortfall were erratic power supply and closure of the mills due to labour trouble.

It is estimated that the production in the jute mills was less by 13,247 due to power failure and by 6,959 tons due to labour trouble during the first nine months of 1980-81.

The jute mills are expected to earn profit of Tk 41.04 crore this year as against Tk 116.66 crore last year.

#### Textile Mills

During 1980-81, the textile mills fixed up its target for 1299 lakh pounds of cotton yarn and 1040 lakh yards of cloth. The production of these items is likely to be 1250 lakh pounds and 900 lakh yards respectively. The causes of lower production have been attributed to power disruption and absence of workers.

The Bangladesh Textile Mills Corporation incurred a loss of Tk. 18.69 crore during 1979-80 while the loss has been estimated at Tk. 8.50 crore this year.

During the period under review the production in chemical industry sector went up by three per cent. While the production of fertilizer decreased, that of pulp, hardboard, caustic soda, liquid chlorine battery, DDT, PVC, compound liquid medicine and safety matches increased.

During 1979-80, the Bangladesh Chemical Industries Corporation earned a profit of Tk. 9.31 crore while this year the profit would be around Tk. 1.51 crore.

In steel and engineering sector, the production had been satisfactory. In some cases, the production exceeded targets.

During 1979-80 the sector produced 1.33 metric tons of steel ingot. During the current year the production of ingot was 0.92 lakh tons till March and the total production might reach 145 lakh tons. The production of diesel engines shot up to 7310 till March as against 2466 during last year.

The production of radio and television stood at 37,500 and 4,700 this year till March as against 33,339 and 1,000 last year. The production of motor cycle was 1,761 during the first nine months of the year as against 2,536 last year.

The production target for buses, trucks and cars has been fixed at 3000 and the actual production till March was 1761.

Last year the production of ceiling fans was 38,500. This year the target has been fixed at 40 thousand. Till March the production had been 26,001 pieces. Erratic power supply and shortage of raw materials have been causes of shortfall.

The Steel and Engineering Corporation had earned Tk. 14.47 crore and this year profit has been estimated at Tk. 16.79 crore.

#### Sugar Industry

The production of sugar has gone up to 1.42 lakh tons this year as against 93 thousand tons last year showing an increase of 52 per cent. The target for the year was however 1.53 lakh tons. Shortage of sugar canes led to the decrease in production.

The sector is estimated to earn a profit of Tk. 32.79 crore as against Tk. 13.37 crore last year.

CSO: 4220/7156

# EXPORT PROMOTION COUNCIL PROPOSES 1981-82 TARGET

Dacca THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 12 Jun 81 pp 1, 12

[Text] An overall export target of Taka 1325 crore for 1981-82 has been proposed at the sixth meeting of the Export Promotion Council (EPC) held at a local hotel in the city on Thursday. The proposed target is Taka 175 crore less than that of Taka 1500 crore in 1980-81 during the expected total of export earnings would not however be more than Taka 1200 crore.

The proposals on Export Policy 1981-82 along with review of export performance in 1980-81 have been placed by the Export Promotion Bureau (EPB) before the EPC. The export target for the coming fiscal year has been set at a level lower than that of the current year in view of what the EPB notes the recession in the world market which has adversely affected in 1980-81 the exports of a number of products from Bangladesh especially the group of items that account for 95 per cent of total export earnings. In its proposals the EPB forecasts that no significant improvement in either demand or prices is likely in the external market during the forthcoming year. "It is in this background that a rather optimistic target is being proposed where on the one hand national interests requires rapid export expansion and on the other hand reality indicates slower increase in supply availability for export and greater difficulties in market penetration" so the Bureau observes.

Inaugurating the sixth meeting of the EPC on the day Chaudhury Tanbir Ahmed Siddiky, Minister of State for Commerce, called upon the exporters both in the private and in the public sectors to put in more vigorous and sustained efforts to face the challenges in the export sector through quality improvement, product diversification, dynamic moves for setting up more export oriented industries, harnessing the existing potentials in full in the export promotion sector, making more export surpluses available and hectic sales push drive in the non-traditional markets in particular. He termed the drive for export promotion as the national priority job in view of the ever growing imbalances between our national import needs and national export earnings at a time when seventy to 75 per cent of currency import allocations were being made for the supply of industrial raw materials in order to keep the wheels of industrial units running.

The inaugural session of the EPC meeting was also addressed by Syed Amir Khasru, Foreign Trade Secretary, and Mr. R.A. Mozumder, Vice Chairman EPB.

In his speech the State Minister for Commerce who is also the Chairman of EPC observed that volume wise exports in a number of items had recorded a rise in 1980-81 over those of the last year but the export earnings showed a substantial amount of shortfall in terms of the attainment of the target for the year. 'Our failures to achieve the financial target of export earnings are the results of the recessionary situation in the economies of the traditional buyers of our export goods,' he noted. He stated that the phenomena of rising import costs and falling export prices "are faced by the Third World countries like ours and the North-South dialogue is purported to finding out ways and means to tackle the related problem facing all of us in the Third World in common."

Chaudhury Tanbir Ahmed Siddiky said that the Government on its part had shown to be "much responsive" to the various demands of the private exporters to help them overcome various difficulties in the export trade sector. He referred to the recently-liberalised facilities like the extended XPL (Export Performance Licence) on a wider scale, streamlined arrangements for duty drawback, concessionary banking facilities, etc. in this connection, and assured them of further flexibility by way of more liberal policy adjustments, if necessary, in future to help boost the export earnings of the country.

In his speech the Foreign Trade Secretary noted that the recession in the developed countries had caused the prices of Bangladesh export items to suffer a decline of about 17 to 19 percent on an average in 1980-81. The prices of items imported into the country during the year have shown an average rise of 13 to 15 percent on the other hand, he stated. He observed that the crux of export development in Bangladesh lay in developing export supply capability to meet market demands. He added that a number of buyers' delegations would be invited next year to the country as a part of the programme to boost the export sales.

Meanwhile, the review of the country's export performance in 1980-81, as prepared by the EPB shows that the total export realisation during the year would register a shortfall of 20 per cent against the target. But, when compared to the total export earnings in 1979-80, the export receipts in 1980-81 at Taka 1200 crore would represent an increase of Taka 75.8 crore.

The review points out that the shortfall in value earnings over the projected targets of most of the products in 1980-81 was mainly due to the world-wide recession and slackness in demand and prices. Besides inadequate shipping facilities internal transport problem and inadequate credit facilities also acted as a constraint. While noting that the exports of most of the regular products in 1980-81 have been affected both from the point of view of demand in the external market and prices there in, the EPB points out that raw jute has been fetching during the most part of the year an average of 13.45 per cent lower than the last year's average unit price per bale. Jute goods average unit price registered approximately 9.13 per cent lower than that of last year. Other products have also experienced substantial setbacks both in terms of demand and prices.

CSO: 4220/7158

PARLIAMENT PASSES SUPPLEMENTARY RAILWAY BUDGET

Dacca THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 12 Jun 81 pp 1, 12

[Text] The Jatiya Sangsad passed the Supplementary Railway Budget for the current financial year on Thursday. In four heads the House passed the Supplementary Budget for an amount of Taka about twenty crore.

The House also rejected six cut motions moved by Mr. Shahjahan Siraj (JSD), Mr. Sudhangshu Shekhar Halder and Mr. A.S.M. Feroz (AL-Hasina), Mr. Abdul Matin Miah (JSD), Mr. M. A. Huq (IND) and Mr Ismail Hussain Talukdar (ML). The mover of the cut motions criticised the railway administration for its failure to stop pilferage, wastages and inefficient handling of the affairs which had upset the budget estimate and the Minister had to spend about 20 crore taka more than the budget estimate. The Members also alleged that although every year the House was sanctioning any amount of money required by the Railway Minister there was no improvement in the railway services of the country. They said that the services and amenities had declined. They also criticised the raising of fare and freight in the budget. The supplementary expenditure had been made for meeting expenses of the general administration fund, etc.

CSO: 4220/7158



BRIEFS

**GENERAL MADE AMBASSADOR**--Major General Mir Shawkat Ali BU P.s.c has been promoted to the rank of Lieutenant General and retired from the Army with effect from June 9, 1981 according to a Ministry of Defence notification released by the ISPR, reports BSS. His services have been placed at the disposal of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for appointment as an Ambassador, the ISPR release said. [Text] [Dacca THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 10 Jun 81 p 1]

**NEW SWISS AMBASSADOR**--Mr Peter Erni has been appointed Ambassador of Switzerland to Bangladesh with residence in New Delhi, says a PID handout. Mr Peter Erni was born in 1919. He is an experienced career diplomat and has served in various capacities at home and abroad. In March 1975 he was appointed Ambassador in Malaysia. Since 1979 Mr Erni has been working as Ambassador of Switzerland in Romania. Mr Erni is married. [Text] [Dacca THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 10 Jun 81 p 1]

**GENERAL MATIN RETIRED**--Major-General M. A. Matin has been retired from Bangladesh Army with immediate effect, according to a notification issued by the Ministry of Defence and released by the ISPR, reports BSS. [Text] [Dacca THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 11 Jun 81 p 1]

**ACCUSED ASSASSINS SOUGHT**--The Government has declared a reward of Taka two lakh each for the arrest of two absconding Army Officers dead or alive for their involvement in the gruesome murder of President Ziaur Rahman in Chittagong on Saturday last, according to an official announcement. The Officers are Major S. M. Khaled and Major Mohammad Mozaffer Hossain. They were among the accomplices of M. A. Manzoor who masterminded the brutal killing of the President. [Text] [Dacca THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 11 Jun 81 p 1]

**GENERAL MAMUM RETIRED**--Major-General F. R. Al-Mamum, psc, ptsc has been retired from Bangladesh Army with immediate effect, according to a notification issued by the Ministry of Defence and released by the ISPR in Dacca on Thursday reports BSS. [Text] [Dacca THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 12 Jun 81 p 1]

**WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE**--The eight Ministerial level conference of the World Food Council will be held in Dacca on September 20 next year an official handout on Thursday said, reports BSS. [Text] [Dacca THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 12 Jun 81 p 12]

GENERAL ULLAH RETIRED--Brigadier Mohamad Wazi Ullah PCS, was promoted to the rank of Major-General after reversion from Bangladesh Rifles and was retired from Bangladesh Army with effect from June 9, 1981, according to a notification issued by the Ministry of Defence, reports BSS. [Text] [Dacca THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 13 Jun 81 p 1]

TRIPURA BORDER INSPECTED--Agartala, June 23--A high powered central team, including Mr. K. Ramamurthy, Director General of Border Security Forces, and Mr. M. L. Kampani Additional Home Secretary yesterday visited some of the areas of Tripura-Bangladesh border to examine the feasibility of erecting barbed wire fencing along the border to check infiltration, reports PTI. Members of the team also called on the State Chief Minister Mr. Nripen Chakraborty to discuss all possible measures in this respect. Later briefing newsmen the Chief Minister said the team was of the view that the number of B.S.F. posts in the state should be increased to help check border crimes. [Text] [Dacca THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 24 Jun 81 p 4]

CSO: 4220/7169

## SUBRAHMANYAM WRITES ON INDIA'S DEFENSE NEEDS

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 27, 29 Jun 81

[Article by K. Subrahmanyam]

[27 Jun 81 p 8]

[Text] I. Urgent Need for Review

Two major developments in recent days should persuade the Indian defence planners to have a quick second look at modernisation plans drawn up for the five-year period beginning from 1979. The first is the announcement of \$3 billion worth of defence and security support credits for Pakistan by the United States. Since Pakistan has been managing to acquire from western Europe military equipment, financed by Arab money, at the rate of \$500 million a year for the last five or six years, the annual inflow of sophisticated arms into Pakistan from now on should be reckoned at \$1 billion.

The second development meriting attention is the disclosure that the United States had been operating missile-test monitoring stations in Sinkiang from 1979. This has come along with Gen. Alexander Haig's announcement that from now on the Chinese requests for lethal weapons would be considered on a case by case basis. It therefore adds a number of new dimensions to assumptions made hitherto on the nature and extent of possible Sino-U.S. military collaboration.

Interestingly, Gen. Haig said that China would now be treated on a par with Yugoslavia. It is not widely known that when Yugoslavia came under pressure from Stalin in 1948 that country concluded a number of licence agreements to manufacture U.S. equipment and ammunition on condition that some portion of the ammunition produced will be sold to NATO.

The U.S. administration maintains that it will not normally give licence to manufacture lethal weapons to any country which is not a military ally. It is in pursuance of this policy that India is unable to obtain any military equipment from the U.S. along with the licence to manufacture it. The TOW missile is an instance in point. In the case of Yugoslavia under threat from Stalin an exception was made though in 1960s when India was under threat from China following the 1962 attack the U.S. did not consider it necessary to extend the same policy to this country.

## Booster

With Gen. Haig's latest announcement it is clear that the U.S. is moving towards a position where it may treat China on a par with a military ally and make available technical know-how for military hardware production on a case by case basis. This will no doubt come as a booster for the military component of China's modernisation.

How ironic all this is in view of the fact that the Chinese should have published "On the Philosophy of Nehru" and "More on the Philosophy of Nehru" in 1961-62 in which they accused him of adopting a provocative policy towards China because of his close collaboration with the aid-giving United States!

In any case, it appears that the assumptions made by the Indian defence planners about the pace of modernisation by China and Pakistan have turned out to be conservative. A second close look at them in the light of these recent developments is therefore called for.

Already voices have been raised in some quarters in this country that we should not over-react to the U.S. arms transfers to Pakistan. Various western academics have been visiting Delhi to counsel us on the need for restraint. Soon we may expect prestigious western research institutions coming out with studies in South Asian security exhorting India, as the largest country of the area, to take the initiative to have an arrangement for mutual arms control with Pakistan.

Of course, according to their reasoning, China has every reason to modernise its forces and India should not consider itself in the same category as China but only as an equal of Pakistan. They would also alert us that India is becoming too dependent on the Soviet Union and should therefore diversify its sources of military hardware.

Some of these analysts have, in fact, already launched into cost-effectiveness studies on the Indian defence posture and have come up with some interesting advice. It is argued by them, for instance, that Pakistan and China have more cost-effective defence than India. With great veneer of sophistication it is pointed out that India is obsessed with tanks and has an unjustifiably large tank fleet (around 1,900). This has locked up Rs. 400 crores and is very capital intensive. So is the case in respect of aircraft. These investments are presumed to be non-cost effective in this age of sophisticated anti-tank missiles and surface-to-air missiles. On the other hand Pakistan with its TOW anti-tank missiles and Crotale surface-to-air missiles and lesser number of tanks is portrayed as having a more cost-effective system. In any case it is argued that India's defence capability, compared with that of Pakistan, is excessive.

## Not Original

Another point made is that Indian R and D and military establishments, after heavy investments over the last 20 years, have not come up with any new weapon design or military doctrine of their own.



The western analysts of this school of thought and their Indian counterparts have concluded that the consequence of all this "muddled" and "derivative" thinking is that instead of a clear-headed estimation of Indian needs for a basic stripped-down defence--for that is all India can afford--this country reacts to Pakistan's arms acquisitions and military actions with conditioned reflexes.

None of these arguments is either original or new. In the fifties when the first American armament programme for Pakistan was under way many respected leaders of this country like Acharya Kripalani, Mr. Dhebar, and Rajaji put forward most of these arguments without their Americanised jargon and asked this country to reduce its defence budget. When the Chinese attack came in 1962 it was extremely easy for some of these very leaders to criticise the government for its credulity and negligence.

When the U.S. started its aid programme for India in 1962, under the cover of the aid programme it wanted the Indian army to be reduced to a trip-wire force. India was denied lethal equipment of any kind and kept on a short leash. But Pakistan was allowed to raise a second armoured division (with India having only one at that time), the result was the Pakistani attack of 1965.

Again when Mr. Nixon sanctioned the one-time arms deal with Pakistan in 1970--as a reward for General Yahya's services in acting as a go-between to promote Sino-U.S. normalisation--the pro-American pro-Pakistan lobby in this country chided the government for making "undue fuss" about it. Armed with perceived pledges of Sino-American support, Gen. Yahya unleashed the Bangladesh genocide. Even after the events of March 25, 1971, there were many both in this country and abroad who wanted India to come to terms with the Yahya Regime, accept the ten million refugees permanently and not walk into the "Soviet trap."

None of these analysts (western or Indian) have inclination to go into the question why the Pakistan army expanded by 70 per cent between 1972 and 1978 and why this expanded army stays on Indian frontiers and has not been shifted to the Afghanistan border if the Pakistanis are serious about their claim that they perceive a threat from the Soviet forces in Afghanistan.

#### Scattered

While the entire Pakistan army is within three days of deployment on battle stations on the border, most of the Indian army meant to be deployed against Pakistan is in Bangalore, Hyderabad, Pune, Jabalpur, Ranchi and other scattered cantonments. Yet General Zia-ul-Haq talks of confrontation between the two armies along the border. While the Indian navy has 47,000 men and the Pakistan navy 13,000, Mr. Agha Shahi talks of the Indian navy being eleven times the Pakistani navy.

All talk of cost effectiveness of Pakistani defence is in terms of published defence budget figures. But Pakistan does not publish any service-wise details of its defence budget nor does it have any capital budget. The West demands that as a confidence-building measure the Soviet Union should give details of its defence budget. Yet when it comes to the Indo-Pakistan context there is no



such suggestion. Most western analysts and their Indian associates are prepared to accept the Pakistani figure.

Mr. Agha Shahi should have been told that before the two countries can sit down to talk of mutual strength of deployable forces, Pakistan, as a first step in confidence building, should publish its detailed defence budget.

It is obvious that Pakistan cannot maintain its 21-division army on its published budget figure of 1168 crores of Pakistani rupees. There are reasons to believe that its airfield, port and other construction costs are hidden in the budgets of civil aviation, shipping and other departments which are administered by their ministry of defence. Pakistani military pensions are merged with civil pensions. Nor do Pakistan's national accounts reflect the foreign exchange transactions on account of purchases of Mirages, Crotales, Agosta submarines and so on. The conclusion is inescapable that the monetary aid from Saudi Arabia and the arms gifted from China do not find a mention in Pakistani budget. Most of the analyses and judgements on relative cost-effectiveness are thus based upon comparison of two non-comparable figures.

[29 Jun 81 p 8]

[Text] II. Modernising Indian Defence Forces

Most recent comparisons of the military strength of India and Pakistan tend to focus attention on India's armour and then conclude that India is "excessively" armed. According to the MILITARY BALANCE of the International Institute for Strategic Studies, London, both India and Pakistan have two armoured divisions each. Besides these, while India has five independent armoured brigades, Pakistan has four. Yet in terms of tank inventories, while India is reported to have 1900 tanks Pakistan is said to possess only 1,000 tanks.

Since each armoured division has four tank regiments and each brigade three regiments, India should have 23 armoured regiments and Pakistan 20 armoured regiments. Forty-eight tanks are normally required to equip one regiment. But with the needs for maintenance and other reserves, between 70 and 75 tanks are required fully to back up a regiment.

#### Units Under-Equipped

By this reckoning, 1,900 tanks of the Indian inventory would roughly correspond to the strength of the Indian regiments. In the case of Pakistan it would mean either that the figure of a thousand is an under-estimate or that the Pakistanis do not have enough tanks effectively to equip all their regiments.

The Pakistanis argue that even this figure of 1,000 is an over-estimate. If so, their armoured regiments should be under-equipped. Surely this is not a sign of cost effectiveness. The question therefore arises why they should not reduce the number of regiments and keep them fully equipped with appropriate number of tanks. The conclusion is obvious that they are keeping the units under-equipped because they are hoping to get the tanks to equip them in future.

Now that the \$3 billion deal is going through, Pakistan is likely to receive M6 OAI American tanks. It is well known that next to multi-role combat aircraft, tanks have always had the highest priority in the Pakistani shopping list.

India could be accused of keeping excessive armour only if Pakistanis had reduced the number of armoured regiments. So long as the regiments continue to be in existence and their men are trained in armoured warfare, Pakistan could always shop around and get its armour at short notice.

Secondly, in terms of armour strength there are seventeen nations in the world which have more tanks than India though the Indian army is the fourth largest in the world in terms of numbers.

Following the 1973 Arab-Israeli war there were premature obituaries written about the tank and its vulnerability to precision-guided munition. But a detailed analysis of that war itself highlighted the crucial role of the tank which led to the successful counter-attack by Israel both in crossing the Suez Canal and on the Syrian front.

If the tank had become vulnerable to anti-tank missiles to the extent of reducing their role in land combat, then Britain (with its Challenger programme), Germany (with its Leopard II) and the U.S. (with its X-ML) will not be investing enormous sums on developing and building up next generation tank inventories. The cost of the tank inventory of the Indian army is not likely to be more than four per cent of the entire inventory cost of the Indian armed forces.

#### Parity Syndrome

Pakistan's acquisition of submarines, anti-shipping Exocet missiles and multi-role Combat aircraft (Mirages) does not indicate a very passive defensive role on its part. The same holds good for the expansion of its army to seven corps and 21 divisions.

To Indian defence planners Pakistan's frantic search for armour was no secret. It received a setback with the revolution in Iran and consequent interruption in the up-gunning programmes of Pakistani tanks. When the real costs of Pakistani defence are calculated, it will be difficult to reach the facile conclusion about its cost-effectiveness.

To think of modernisation of Indian defences in the Indo-Pakistan context alone is the residual vestige of the parity syndrome. In fact, the defence modernisation in India has become necessary because of the obsolescence of its own equipment and the Chinese military modernisation programme.

The Chinese have already laid an oil pipeline to Lhasa and are completing the Golmo-Lhasa rail link. The Chinese aircraft are able to operate from Tibetan airfields all the year round. The Chinese have not stopped supporting the Burmese Communist Party insurgents in northern Burma. Military modernisation is one of the avowed goals of Chinese leadership and the indications are they may be supported in this by various external powers.

To talk of China as a defensive power two years after it launched its "punishing" mission in Vietnam and Mr. Deng Xiaoping compared this exercise to the Chinese campaign against India in 1962 may be credible to the Westerners who are still in love with China after 20 years of estrangement and bloodshed, but not to the Indians, Burmese, Vietnamese and Kampuchians.

Western analysts highlight what they consider as increasing Indian dependence on the Soviet Union for military equipment—both outright purchases and licensed manufacture. In the world today there are only three sources of weapon technology—the U.S., the U.S.S.R. and Western Europe, essentially France. When people talk about Indian R and D not coming up with indigenous designs it is often overlooked that even countries like Britain, Japan and Germany depend increasingly on licences from the U.S.

Of the three sources the U.S. is simply not prepared to contribute meaningfully to Indian defence preparedness, in spite of its talk of the Soviet threat to the sub-continent. Western Europe is not in a position to extend credit facilities to India for defence purchases. Consequently India is left with no choice but to look largely to the Soviet Union for the defence technology it needs.

This co-operation also flows from certain mutuality of strategic interests between India and the Soviet Union. The United States sent the Enterprise mission against India in 1971, acted against Indian decolonisation of Goa, failed to support the Indian defence preparedness against China in the sixties, provided equipment to Pakistan to attack India in 1965 and now is providing military equipment and technology to two of India's neighbours who constitute sources of security threat to this country.

#### Conservatism Assailed

Lastly, there is Western criticism of conservatism in Indian defence planning. All defence planning all over the world is conservative, especially in the modern age of sharp, swift and limited wars. The only innovative thinking in the post-1945 era is that of General Giap of Vietnam who has fought successfully against France, the U.S. and China and who implemented the people's war doctrine in practice, unlike others who only talked about it. But that is a doctrine to be used by a weak country invaded and occupied by a strong country and is not of much relevance in short wars for limited objectives.

India has many failings. We cannot claim to be very efficient in our management, civil or military, very innovative in our R and D (except for such islands as space and atomic energy) or even moderately successful in our planning to overcome poverty. But we can make one justifiable claim. This country, aware of its poverty, spends one of the lowest per capita expenditure in the world on armaments—half of what China or Pakistan does.

We have no pretences to punish our neighbours, to speak for our co-religionists anywhere else in the world and have no territorial claims on anybody else's territory. Even where we have a territorial dispute we have made it plain that we have no intention to use force to resolve that dispute.

Lastly, our military has no place in our politics—unlike in our neighbourhood where military intervention has become an established tradition. The decisions on all equipment are made by the civilian government.

It may be useful for Western analysts and their friends in this country to remember that the defence modernisation plan was drawn up by the Janata government of Mr. Morarji Desai in whose non-aggressive intentions General Zia appears to have great faith.

CSO: 4220/7118



## DEFENSE STUDIES HEAD COMMENTS ON PAKISTAN POLICY

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 26, 27 Jun 81

[Article by K. Subrahmanyam: "Realism on Pakistan"]

[26 Jun 81 p 8]

[Text] In the first of two articles on improving relations with Pakistan, K. Subrahmanyam, Director of the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, explains the complex nature of problems between the two countries to warn misguided Indian intellectuals against being taken in by Islamabad's propaganda that India, as a big country, has nothing to fear and must, therefore, make concessions to small Pakistan. Mr Subrahmanyam's thesis is that the real problem lies between rulers and ruled in Pakistan; because the former are not secure, and because Pakistan has not been able to consolidate its own identity as a nation, Islamabad constantly raises the bogey of Indian aggression.

**I**N the wake of the Indian External Affairs Minister's visit to Pakistan there is considerable talk of confidence building in the air. The term itself has been borrowed from the European context. There it came into vogue following the Helsinki Declaration when all nations undertook to respect the borders inherited from World War II.

The distrust that divides India and Pakistan is a more deep-rooted and complicated one than that dividing the USA and NATO on the one hand, and the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact on the other. The USA and the Soviet Union have never fought a direct war in history, nor do they have irreconcilable claims as between them. There is no issue, like the two-nation theory of Pakistan, analogous to Israel's Zionism, which claims the allegiance of people on the basis of religion, complicating East-West

relations in Europe. In spite of all these facts, confidence building in Europe has not been easy and it is not likely to contribute to confidence building in the sub-continent if we do not separate myths from realities and start our efforts on realistic considerations.

A major stumbling block in confidence building is the extremely clever psychological campaign carried on by Pakistan which has produced effective results not only in the rest of the world but in India as well. In this, no doubt they have been significantly assisted by the Western media and by the enormous intellectual dependence of some of our own elite on Western literature, and the proverbial short memory of our public.

## FOREMOST

The first and foremost achievement of Pakistani propaganda is to project itself as a little David facing a giant Goliath just as Israelis portray themselves as being under constant threat from 100 million Arabs. Pakistani propaganda of India being big, ably supported by the Western media, has created a guilt complex among some of our elite who are fortunate enough to be free of knowledge of history and contemporary international relations. The refrain is that India, being a big country, should make all concessions to all its neighbours, and should not worry about the linkages of its neighbours with other big external Powers. India should cut down its armed forces to the levels of its smaller neighbours, at the same time should behave like a small nation towards its big



neighbour, China and not aim to build an appropriate equation with it in terms of capabilities.

According to this thesis, India is a big country only for making concessions to its smaller neighbours. In all other respects, the latter will consider themselves to be India's equals as sovereign and independent nations.

So long as this thesis is propounded by Pakistan, and repeated by some people in this country, there can be no confidence building because this thesis is historically untenable and controverts the known facts of the last 34 years of sub-continental history. Repetition of this thesis can only create further chasms of distrust between the two countries.

Let us look at this historically. If bigger nations with greater populations and resources have nothing to fear from smaller ones, then how are we to explain the mighty USA, NATO China and Japan taken together talking of the Soviet threat? The former outstrips the latter in population, GNP, scientific potential

and in every other respect. If the smaller party posed no threat why should the USA object to Soviet nuclear missiles in small Cuba? How could Germany have taken on the mighty British and French empires in 1938? How could the Japanese defeat Tsarist Russia in 1905? How could Japan invade China in 1931? Then on what basis did Ayub Khan launch his Rann of Kutch operations and Operation Gibraltar? How then did smaller Pakistan dare to push in ten million refugees into elephantine India in 1971?

A moment's reflection will reveal how puerile is this argument about the relative sizes of India and Pakistan in respect of security relationship. Yet such historically meaningless claims are put forward by the Pakistani leadership and repeated mindlessly by some in this country with a great sense of guilt.

## SECOND LINE

The second line of psychological warfare is that India does not have cordial relations with its neighbours, and this argument has also been picked up by some of our masochistic intellectuals. How about China? How cordial are its relations with the Soviet Union, Mongolia, Afghanistan, India, Bhutan, Burma, and Vietnam? How about the USA and USSR? How about Pakistan itself? This is not to argue that

India should not attempt to improve its relations with its neighbours. At the same time it is to be remembered that it takes time for new nations to settle down to cordial relations with their neighbours. The first hundred years of relations between the USA and Canada were far from cordial. One border dispute between the USA and Mexico was settled only after 120 years when Lyndon Johnson was President.

The third aspect of Pakistan's psychological warfare relates to the Indo-Soviet Treaty, and this comes in handy both for Western propaganda and Western-oriented sections of the elite in this country. The Indo-Soviet Treaty was a response to the U.S.-Chi-

nese-Pakistani line-up in 1971 achieved as a result of Dr Kissinger's trip to Peking. How serious the line-up was can be gathered from Dr Kissinger's account in his book *White House Years* where he has dealt with his asking Mr Huang Hua to convey the U.S. request to the Chinese Government in December, 1971, to initiate military action against India during the Bangladesh liberation war, and assuring them of U.S. support if the Soviet Union were to counter Chinese pressure on India.

Simultaneously, Dr Kissinger and Mr Nixon followed it up by sending the USS Enterprise into the Bay of Bengal. Such a diplomatic countervailing action by India through the Indo-Soviet Treaty was necessitated by the fact that in 1973, when India was fighting Pakistan, China served an ultimatum on India. Pakistan brought the USA into the sub-continent through CENTO and SEATO in 1954, and the Chinese in the sixties. Pakistan had also helped China in constructing the Karakoram Highway for which there is hardly any commercial justification. One can understand the Pakistani leadership's attempt to confuse chronology and treat the cause and effect of a phenomenon on an equal footing. It is difficult to understand why this is so readily swallowed by some people in this country.

## BASIC ISSUE

The basic issue is that Pakistan needs India as a threat and an adversary to help to consolidate its own national identity. In this respect the Indian and Pakistani needs are not symmetrical since India has no problem of national identity as Pakistan has. Hence Pakistanis are

compelled to propagate the view that India has not accepted partition and continues to pose a threat to them. One has to understand and tolerate the deep psychological sense of insecurity of the Pakistani elite to whom even the mushy sentimental Hindi films of Bombay constitute a threat. They do not dare to promote greater interaction between journalists, men of letters and artists of the two countries. When there is not enough confidence between the rulers and ruled in Pakistan, it is not going to be easy for the rulers of that country to promote confidence building with India.

Let Pakistan build its national identity in its own way, and if it needs India as an adversary to help in national consolidation, let us not grudge it. Let them take their own time to cohere together as a nation and let not our sentimentality complicate their nation building process by good intentioned neighbourly meddling as some of our intellectuals advocate. At the same time, let the relationship between Pakistan and India be a natural one between two neighbours, one ten times the size of the other. The elite of Pakistan knows that India has no intention of annulling partition. Therefore, they now come forward with new theses of Indian hegemonism or attempts at "Finlandising" Pakistan. In such circumstances the right course for India as a big country, is to keep enough margin of power available to deter Pakistan from imitations of adventurism of the 1947 or 1965 kind, but otherwise to leave that country alone.

[Text] Concluding his survey of Indo-Pakistani relations, K. Subrahmanyam, Director of the Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis, argues that since Islamabad already enjoys better relations than does New Delhi, with Washington and Beijing, it would now like to drive a wedge between India and the Soviet Union to establish similar friendly ties with Moscow as well. This is as much to isolate India as to strengthen General Zia-ul-Haq's position at home. Mr Subrahmanyam cites the examples of Pakistani and Islamic reactions to U.S. encouragement of Israel to claim that India's total disapproval of the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan should not lead to a breach with Moscow.

**T**he Soviets in Afghanistan pose a problem vis-à-vis the security of the sub-continent. But even the Pakistanis evidently do not rate that problem serious enough to shift to their Western borders any part of the 85 per cent of their forces which they deploy on the Indian border even though they are fully aware that India's forces are by and large spread over cantonments of South and Central India.

For obvious geographic reasons, India cannot deal with this problem with more seriousness than Pakistan is willing to evince. Assurances have been given to Pakistani leaders in this respect both last year, and recently during the External Affairs Minister's visit, that Pakistan has nothing to fear from India. But surely Indian foreign policy cannot be dictated by Pakistan using Afghanistan as an excuse, as it seeks to do by asking India to sneak out against the USSR. Indian policy towards the USSR has many strategic components in it, such as China and the USA. Pakistan would do well to remember what it talks about all the time.

India is a big country with large extra-regional dimensions to its foreign policy, and, consequently, Pakistan cannot hope to modify basic tenets of Indian strategy. India totally disapproves of the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. That does not necessarily call upon us to alienate the Soviet Union. When the USA intervened in Vietnam or invaded Kamouchea, an one suggested that India should be turned by the extent of its opposition to the USA. In fact,

those issues did not even come up before the U.N. In spite of US support and sustenance to Israel (including the use of American aircraft to bomb the Iraqi nuclear plant) neither Pakistan, nor other Islamic countries, have come out in opposition to the USA.

### SECURITY PROBLEM

Even as the Soviet Union and China were assisting the Vietcong to fight the USA, they were also trying to improve their relations with that country. Mr Nixon was received by Mao Tse tung and Mr Brezhnev as he intensified the bombing of Vietnam, and blockaded Haiphong port by mining. Nations do not conduct their foreign policies on the basis of such simplistic linkages.

Pakistan has a major security problem of which the Soviet presence in Afghanistan is only a part. The real security problem is the increasing alienation between the people of Pakistan and their present rulers. The Pakistan People's Party which won the last elections in 1977 (and there is no doubt that it won the elections despite rigging in a few seats) is totally opposed to General Zia's Afghanistan policy. It may not be the only party opposed to General Zia in this respect. Therefore, while discussing Pakistan's security, one has to distinguish the problems that the country is likely to face from those that confront the Zia regime since there is a basic conflict of interests between Pakistan as a country and General Zia as its ruler.

He indicated in a recent speech to Pakistan's National

Defence College that there would be no return to parliamentary rule based on political parties. There is no indication how General Zia will institute an orderly process of transfer of power. But one thing is certain. He cannot proclaim himself Sultan of Pakistan and continue for ever as ruler. How long senior army officers will stay together and support General Zia is a difficult question to answer. It would appear that the General and his colleagues are creating conditions which may lead to a successor Government having closer relations with the Soviet Union since the Zia regime is closely identified with China and the USA. In this respect, the Soviet presence in Afghanistan may provide them with convenient opportunities.

Perhaps General Zia-ul-Haq is not wholly unmindful of his vulnerabilities. He has very explicitly stated that Pakistan will not be a conduit for weapons to be sent to the Afghan rebels. He has no intention of provoking the Soviet Union, and Pakistan has been in continuous diplomatic touch with the USSR. Very recently the Soviet ambassador in Islamabad issued a comprehensive set of proposals to aid Pakistan, including the offer of a nuclear reactor. In other words, Pakistan appears to have decided to deal with the Soviet Union on the issue of Afghanistan on the lines that the Islamic world deals with the USA on the question of Israel and Palestinian rights. It is a two track approach—strong words but business as usual.

The U.S. offer of military aid, as well as Pakistan's response to it, do not give the appearance of their having developed a perception of a Pakistan in immediate danger. The USA seems to be getting worried that Pakistan's rulers may come to terms with Soviet power and their current efforts are to gain a larger foothold in the country with large-scale military supplies and thereby influence the Pakistani armed forces not to develop an increasingly balancing relationship with the Soviet Union. As time passes, Afghanistan might gradually shift into the background in the East-West confrontation, and Pakistan may attempt to evolve a triangular balance of influence and power with the USA, China and the Soviet Union. Such a triangular balance and a cordial relationship with the Islamic world, may be deemed the best strategy to prolong military rule in Pakistan.

### MAJOR POWERS

Islamabad's rulers maintain better relations with Peking and Washington than does New Delhi. What would suit them better than also maintaining better relations with Moscow than does India? Hence their object appears to be to push India into opposition to the Soviet Union on the Afghanistan issue. If they were to achieve this, then there would be a Pakistan with normal and better than normal relations with all three major Powers and the Islamic world, and an India with less than wholly cordial relations with all three major Powers.

Pakistan has certain natural advantages in bringing this about. Unlike India where foreign policy has evolved over the last three decades, its formulation including broad-based elite participation and consen-

sus, Pakistan is guided wholly by the interests of a small ruling group. Therefore, any adjustments in respect of policy towards the Soviet Union are not likely to present insuperable difficulty.

Pakistan's security situation, from its own point of view, has deteriorated further in recent weeks. The CIA's reassessment that the Soviets will not be in need of West Asia oil in the eighties, the oil glut, and the Israeli attack on Iraq, have all made negligible the prospect of an area of strategic consensus from Pakistan to Turkey emerging under U.S. auspices. After the Israeli attack, it is not certain whether President Saddam Hussein of Iraq can continue to progressively distance himself from the Soviet Union as he has been doing. In Iran, the Islamic revolutionaries, backed by the Tudeh Party, are in the process of eliminating moderate liberals. While the conservative Arab States may not openly oppose the USA, the Israeli raid on the Iraqi nuclear reactor has made it more difficult to identify themselves with the USA. If things were to become uncertain in Iran with the USA getting increasingly bogged down in West Asia, with Islamic countries being increasingly unable to sustain a united anti-Soviet posture on Afghanistan, and the Soviets holding their leverage in regard to Baluchistan, Pakistan would be under increasing compulsion to come to terms with the Soviet Union.

Understanding this compulsion Pakistan might like to see some realignment of forces around it. Instead of having to come to terms with a Soviet Union friendly to India, it would prefer to come to terms with a Soviet Union less friendly to India. Hence, Islamabad's present diplomacy is concentrated on driving a wedge between the

two countries on the issue of Afghanistan. This is entirely understandable from the point of view of the Pakistani ruling elite. There is nothing right or wrong, moral or immoral, about it. But since the development is not in India's interest we shall have to frustrate it.

### GUILT-RIDDEN

Most of Pakistan's security problems, and the haunting sense of insecurity of the country's rulers, are inherent in the nature of the Pakistani State and the relationship between rulers and ruled. India can do nothing about it. But the image of the Indian elite as soft and guilt-ridden has always contributed to the temptation of adventurers among Pakistani rulers. At the time of partition, their slogan (in Hindi), was "Laughing we have taken Pakistan, fighting we shall take Hindustan". They followed it up with the invasion of Kashmir. In 1965 Ayub Khan thought Shastri was a weak Prime Minister and this impression was reinforced by his Rann of Kutch adventure. Then he unleashed Operation Gibraltar. Yahya Khan found he could with impunity push ten million refugees into India. In all these cases, once India was cornered, it struck back to protect its interests.

If there had been adequate realization early enough of the likely Indian reaction, it is quite possible that Pakistan would have avoided such misadventures. It may be difficult to start confidence building between two countries given these historical circumstances. But it should be possible to avoid creating the false impression that this country will behave any differently from countries of similar power and size in the international system when its interests are at stake. If that is clearly understood, half the troubles could easily be forestalled.



## BJP CHIEF URGES PAKISTAN TO CEASE ARMS PURCHASES

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 30 Jun 81 p 9

[Text] Simla, June 29--Mr Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Bharatiya Janata Party president, today advised Pakistan to stop purchasing arms from the USA because this would not help it.

Iran had purchased arms similarly from the USA when the Shah was in power. "You can fight with arms but you cannot sit on them", he added.

Addressing a meeting at Ladies' Park here, the BJP leader said there were three wars between India and Pakistan and they ended within fortnight because the USA would not sell spares.

He asked Pakistan not to depend on America as it would give arms but not ammunition.

What was needed in Pakistan and India was war against poverty, unemployment and diseases to meet basic needs of the people. This should be understood by both.

Referring to the Chinese Foreign Minister, Mr Huang Hua's visit, Mr Vajpayee said a Lok Sabha resolution had urged China to vacate all occupied Indian territories. India could not make any further delay in solving the border problem as had been suggested by Chinese leaders. They said it was an old problem and would take a long time to solve but the Government's view during the Janata regime was that it should be solved without delay.

On Afghanistan, Mr Vajpayee said India was shy of naming the aggressor nor did it condemn Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea. "Friendship with Russia is one thing but the impression that we work under Russian pressure is another", he said. He demanded withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan and Kampuchea.

Mr Vajpayee charged Mrs Gandhi with spreading communalism and casteism by nominating Mrs Abida Ahmed from Allahabad with purpose of getting Muslim votes.

What was the need of giving crores of rupees to a family connected with Maruti as compensation, he asked.

CSO: 4220/7136

## GANDHI'S 26 JUN SPEECH IN PATNA SUMMARIZED

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 27 Jun 81 pp 1, 9

[Text]

PATNA, June 26.—Mrs Gandhi today expressed concern over amassing of arms by Pakistan, report PTI and UNI. She said India would have to revise its policy if the neighbours continued to build up arms posing a threat to "our security and sovereignty".

Addressing a public meeting here, Mrs Gandhi said she was not opposed to any country having arms to defend their sovereignty. But keeping of excess arms were undoubtedly dangerous and not in the interest of neighbouring countries, she added.

Mrs Gandhi said if Pakistan continued to acquire arms "we shall also have to purchase arms to defend our frontiers and hard-won freedom."

The Prime Minister said India did not want to have strained relations with its neighbours. It wanted friendship with Pakistan and other neighbouring countries. "That's why we sent our Foreign Minister to Pakistan first. We want to help our neighbours because we believe that weak neighbours are always dangerous for any country," she said.

Mrs Gandhi said India believed in peace and progress. "We never attacked any country and we will not do so in future. But some big countries are afraid of us. They do not want us to progress and prosper. They are accusing us of nuclear proliferation. I want to make it clear to them that we want to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes only, specially for increasing agricultural production, manufacturing of medicines and generation of power."

Stressing the need for unity and discipline, Mrs Gandhi cautioned the people to remain vigilant as the clouds of war were hovering around the world. Preparations were being made by some countries. "We are trying to avoid war because it creates problems and slows down our pace of progress in all fields."

However, India would not remain silent if any country dared to attack it, she said and added "we do not want friendship at the cost of our country's interest."

She accused super Powers of playing a dubious role and felt that the recent attack of Israel on Iraq's atomic reactor was part of this "double-standards" of big Powers.

Mrs Gandhi said the destruction of Iraq's atomic reactor by Israel on the false assumption that it might produce atom bombs in future was without any justification. "Everybody knew that Iraq was not in a position to make bombs, still it was taken a target of attack," she said.

The Prime Minister regretted that no country could dare say a word against those who were preparing bombs openly, but poor nations, trying to acquire self-sufficiency and attempting to stand on their feet, were being criticized.

The main reason for this is that we have refused to beg before the big Powers and we try on our own to survive," she said.

Referring to the current visit of the Chinese Foreign Minister, Mr Huang Hua to India, Mrs Gandhi said China was a great nation. "We should adopt their good things which without following their ideology or path". For India socialism is a means and not an end, she added.

Mrs Gandhi criticized the Janata Government for ruining the economy of the country because of their "weak and faulty" policies. All development programmes which were started during her regime got a severe jolt during the Janata regime, she added.

Mrs Gandhi said when her party was defeated in the 1977 elections, she gladly accepted the verdict of the people and assured Janata leaders of her help in pushing the country ahead. "But instead of taking help they started criticising me time

and again. Even some Congress men, who were with me accused me of following faulty policies and programmes. If my policies and programmes were wrong why did they remain with me until my defeat in the 1977 elections", she asked.

Referring to the Opposition criticism Mrs Gandhi said she was not worried about that and added: "Indira Gandhi is not afraid of criticism. My only objective is how to make the country stronger and prosperous."

The Prime Minister said that three or four days ago, some CPI leaders told her to be more democratic. "Is there any Communist country which is democratic", she asked.

Addressing a Press conference after her day's schedule the Prime Minister said all Congress (I) Ministries in different States would be allowed to function for five years.

Mrs Gandhi, who had earlier reviewed the functioning and performance of various Bihar Government departments with officials and Ministers, said the performance of the one-year-old Jagannath Mishra Ministry was "good."

As regards non-Congress (I) Governments, Mrs Gandhi said she was not going to topple any of them. If they themselves crumbled owing to their policy difficulties, her Government or party would not be responsible for that.

She said that in West Bengal, her party had done nothing to remove the State Ministry. Only different sections of society had come forward against the Government.

A young man with a loaded country-made revolver was today



arrested from the airport area at the time of Mrs Gandhi's arrival, official sources said.

Meanwhile, Youth Congress (I) members today submitted a memorandum to the Prime Minister when she arrived here from Ranchi demanding appointment of Mr Rajiv Gandhi as general secretary of the All-India Congress (I) Committee. The memorandum was signed by the general secretary of the AICC (I), Mr Tariq Anwar.

She was accompanied by the Governor of Bihar, Mr A. B. Kidwai, the Chief Minister, Mr Jagannath Mishra, the Union Railway Minister, Mr Kedar Pande, the Union Minister for Tourism, Mr A. P. Sharma, Mr Arun Nehru M.P. and Mr Gyan Ranjan, Congress I MLA.

Mrs Gandhi earlier arrived here on a one-day visit to Bihar by an Indian Air Force jet "Rajhans".

She was received by the Governor Mr Kidwai, Mr Jagannath Mishra and Mr Gyan Ranjan, a Congress (I) MLA.

Our Correspondent in Ranchi adds: Mrs Gandhi today called upon the people to remain united and shun any sense of regionalism for the progress of the country. "People should not think in terms of Bihari, Bengali, Kashmiri. But they should consider themselves Indian first", she added.

The Prime Minister, who was inaugurating the Birsa Agriculture University here said that the basic reason why this country was poor was disunity among the people and ignorance of new ideas and technology for the development. "Referring to the general poverty and backwardness among large population of Adivasis, she said the Adivasis would have to adapt themselves to the changing times and acquiring skill for their uplift.

CSO: 4220/7119

## CPI LEADER ISSUES STATEMENT ON HUA VISIT

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 1 Jul 81 pp 1, 7

[Text] The Communist Party of India has said that the Chinese want to keep the border problem pending 'as a dagger pointed towards India for the purpose of blackmail', but Mr Huang Hua was ultimately forced by Mrs Gandhi to agree to talks on the issue.

Party general secretary C. Rajeswara Rao said in a statement on Tuesday that 'nothing can be expected to come out of (border talks) because it is a political problem which can only be solved at the top leadership level if an agreement is to be arrived at' and not at the officials' level.

At the same time, Mr Rao made it clear that the CPI 'was all for normalising our relations with China, but not at the cost of our progressive foreign policy of peace, anti-imperialism and friendship with the Soviet Union, Vietnam and other socialist countries and peace-loving developing nations, which was the real purpose of Mr Huang's visit.'

The statement, which summed up the results of the Chinese Foreign Minister's visit to India from the CPI viewpoint, underscored that 'despite all the good words and pleasantries exchanged' Mr Huang's talks in the Capital had not produced any 'tangible result'.

'It has to be remembered that the Chinese Foreign Minister's visit is a part and parcel of a well-coordinated plan of US imperialists, Chinese leadership and the military dictator Zia of Pakistan to isolate our country and blackmail it into their reactionary global strategy named as strategic consensus', he emphasised.

Against this backdrop, Mr Rao ridiculed and attacked those parties and personalities in India openly supporting the 'diabolical moves of the Washington-Peking-Islamabad axis'; and those spreading the illusion that keeping a little distance away from the USSR would help to 'neutralise' US and China in relation to India.

He pointed out that Mr Huang's talks with the Prime Minister and External Affairs Minister revealed absence of any common ground on any important world development or on bilateral problems including the question of bridling the warmongers and

safeguarding world peace, making the Indian Ocean a peace zone, peace in West Asia, massive arming of Pakistan, endangering the security of our country, Afghanistan, Kampuchea and Sino-Indian border problem.

He further referred to the fact that the border problem--'very vital for the normalisation of relations'--had been scrupulously avoided by the Chinese Foreign Minister in his public speeches.

Mr Rao highlighted Chinese Foreign Minister's categorical assertion that their views on Jammu-Kashmir and Sikkim had remained unchanged thereby demonstrating that Peking's 'refusal to recognise them as an integral part of India still stands.'

He said though the Chinese were talking sweet to us now, 'it should be realised that they are doing everything to put us in a disadvantageous position militarily, as our Chief of Staff has warned'.

CSO: 4220/7145

## GANDHI 27 JUN SPEECH, PRESS CONFERENCE REPORTED

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 28 Jun 81 pp 1, 7

[Excerpt]

LUCKNOW, June 27—Mrs Gandhi today welcomed the visit of the Chinese Foreign Minister, Mr Huang Hua, and said that any step that helped in lessening tension would go a long way in establishing mutual cordial relations.

She said the visit of a Chinese dignitary after so many years was by itself an important step forward. India had initiated moves much earlier for normalization of relations and as such the visit was important.

The Prime Minister who was addressing a Press conference here this evening said that India's view point on international matters was somewhat different from others. India was committed to non-alignment and did not want to blame any single Power as being responsible for world tension.

Asked about the Israeli attack on the Iraqi reactor she said: "This is illegal and wrong. Every one knew that Iraq was not capable of making a nuclear bomb. Even if it were no other country had any business or right to interfere".

She, however, regretted that by and large the world had treated the Israeli aggression somewhat lightly. As for the demand to close down the Israeli Consulate in India, she said from time to time this demand cropped up.

Asked as to how far and how near was the solution to the Assam

tangle, Mrs Gandhi said: "near and far both". At times she said it appeared as if the problem was 90% solved and then suddenly there was a setback caused by the other side. "It seems there is now a desire to solve the problem".

The Prime Minister denied that she had said in Patna that India's arms policy would be changed in view of the developments elsewhere.

"How can there be a change of policy", she asked and added "the policy is to be prepared always to defend the country against any aggression."

Asked about the Chief Election Commissioner, Mr S. L. Shukla's order on the repoll on Garhwal, she replied, "no comment".

Mrs Gandhi said the Emergency was imposed for a specific purpose. "It is not a remedy for all times to come for all maladies. We eliminated malaria by using DDT. Now that the mosquitoes have become immune to it some other method has to be found out", she said amidst laughter.

Earlier speaking at a function at Raj Bhavan Mrs Gandhi said all efforts to restructure the basic economic pattern of the country would be fruitless if there were no discipline and unity in the country.

Unfortunately, she said, there were forces inimical to this country. Those who were misled by them were trying to sow the seeds of disunity.

The recent communal disturbances in parts of the country had less of religion in them and more of politics, Mrs Gandhi said. The Asian countries would be a force to reckon with if there was unity among the developing and non-aligned nations. But there was no point in talking about unity abroad when there was no unity at home.

CSO: 4220/7123

## USSR-INDIA FRIENDSHIP, COOPERATION

Moscow SOVIET MILITARY REVIEW in English No 2, Feb 81 pp 9-10

[Text]

LAST DECEMBER was marked by an official visit of L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, to India, an event whose significance for the cause of peace and détente can hardly be overestimated.

Soviet-Indian friendship is deep-rooted in history. The Soviet people have always sympathised with India, its struggle for independence and its people's aspirations. When India had gained its independence, friendship and cooperation between the two countries began to develop on a really multilateral basis, the Soviet Union rendering India enormous assistance. Soviet-Indian cooperation today is stronger than ever.

Jawaharlal Nehru called the industrial giants constructed in India with Soviet assistance "new temples" of cooperation. Today they include the Iron and Steel Works in Bhilai and Bokaro, the Heavy Electrical Equipment Plant at Hardwar, the Heavy Machine-Building Plant at Ranchi, electric power stations at Obra, Korba, Neyveli and Bhakra, oil refineries at Barauni, Koyali and Mathura, the Precision Instruments Plant at Kota, the Surgical Tools Plant in Madras, the Antibiotics Factory at Rishikesh, the Pharmaceutical Factory in Hyderabad, oil fields at Ankleshwar and the Steel Plant at Visakhapatnam. These are only the major industrial enterprises built or being built in India with the aid of the USSR.

Addressing L. I. Brezhnev and other Soviet leaders at Delhi's Palam airport on December 8, 1980, N. S. Reddy, President of the Republic of India, said: "Today more than 70 projects in different parts of India symbolise the strength and vitality of Soviet-Indian cooperation. We are convinced that cooperation between our countries in the economic, commercial, industrial, scientific and technical fields will continue to expand and become yet more diversified, thus increasingly contributing to the development of vital sectors of India's economy."

L. I. Brezhnev's official friendly visit to India was a new landmark in the development of relations between the two countries. In the person of L. I. Brezhnev the Indian people see their true and reliable friend, who shows consistent and sincere sympathy with India and deep understanding of its tasks and aspirations. At the same time the Indian people evaluate highly L. I. Brezhnev's outstanding role as a statesman of world significance, standing for world peace and all-round cooperation. "We are privileged," said Indian Premier Indira Gandhi at a meeting in Delhi, "to play host to the eminent leader of the great country, a statesman of world stature and a true friend of India... We regard this visit as an important and portentous event. It will give a new impetus to the traditional friendship between the Soviet Union and India, and will contribute to the cause of peace."

The visit took place at a time when the international situation had become markedly complicated, when reactionary and militaristic circles in the West, whipping up the arms race to gain military superiority over the USSR and the countries of the socialist community, were staking on diktat and blackmail. As L. I. Brezhnev said in Delhi, "the question is now posed as follows: Where will things move to from here? If this negative, and let us say frankly, dangerous policy continues, the world will face a serious threat. If wisdom triumphs, then a constructive policy meeting the hopes of nations and the interest of all countries, will make headway again."

The dangerous stand of the opponents of détente harms India's national interests. The Soviet people share the concern of the Indian government and public over the fact that US imperialism has turned the Island of Diego Garcia into its naval and air base threatening the security and sovereignty of states in the Indian Ocean and has concentrated its armed forces in that area, thus making it another hotbed of international tensions. The Chinese hegemonists' designs



also present a serious threat to India's security. In an interview with the French "Le Figaro" and "L'Aurore" newspapers Indian Premier Indira Gandhi said among other things: "The Chinese voice territorial claims not only against India, but also against Burma, Malaysia and Vietnam. They advance hegemonistic claims to the whole of the Asian continent. And this attitude presents a serious danger to peace in that area."

The recent Soviet-Indian summit talks showed close proximity or even identity of views of the two countries as regards the most important international issues and promoted further deepening of cooperation in most diverse fields. A special role in present-day conditions is played by cooperation between the two countries in settling international problems. Both countries are safeguarding peace, and building the prosperity and security of their peoples on equitable cooperation with other nations.

Soviet-Indian relations of friendship and cooperation help normalise the international situation, especially in Asia and in the Indian Ocean, and serve the cause of peace and progress.

During the Soviet-Indian talks some important documents were signed: a Soviet-Indian joint declaration and a whole number of agreements (on economic and technical cooperation, a trade agreement for 1981-1985; a programme of exchange in the fields of culture, science and education for 1981-1982; an agreement on cooperation in cinematography, and others). All this testifies to the scope of the many-sided ties between the USSR and India, which embrace practically all important spheres in the life of the two nations. Developing on a planned and long-term basis, this equitable and mutually advantageous cooperation meets the national interests of both countries.

India's business circles attach particular importance to the agreement on economic and technical cooperation signed by L. I. Brezhnev and Indira Gandhi, regarding it as a new step on the road to true economic independence. The point is not only that this cooperation continues in the public sector, which accounts for over 40 per cent of the country's overall industrial output, and mainly in the key industries; the main thing is that in the conditions of global energy crisis and soaring prices for oil and oil products, India's economy finds itself in a difficult position. The armed conflict between Iran and Iraq—countries from which India imported over 11 million tons of oil out of the total 16 million tons—further aggravated the situation. The country was thus confronted with the problem of speeding up prospecting and developing its own sources of fuel and energy. The Soviet Union will help India in the fields in which it experiences the greatest difficulties at present, primarily that of offsetting fuel and energy shortages.

Soviet-Indian cooperation in this field has been successfully developing for a long time. A year ago more than 70 per cent of Indian oil and gas was obtained from oil and gas fields discovered with the aid of Soviet geologists and other specialists, and several coal mines were built in the republic with Soviet assistance. This cooperation has been particularly fruitful in open-cut coal mining, in which 95 per cent of the machines are Soviet-made and which produce 30 million tons of coal a year.

The signing of the agreement opens up a new phase of cooperation in the fuel and energy fields. The Soviet Union will assist India in designing and building new coal mining projects which will allow production of nearly 25 million tons of hard fuel a year. Joint geophysical and drilling operations are envisaged, aimed at prospecting for oil and gas in the states of West Bengal and Tripura and other areas. Emphasising this aspect of cooperation, the mass media in India and other countries noted that the Soviet Union continues to extend a helping hand to India at the hour of need, which is a characteristic feature of Soviet policy towards developing states.

Soviet-Indian ties are based on the 1971 Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation, which provides for development of mutually advantageous relations between the two countries on the basis of equality, respect and non-interference in each other's affairs. Speaking at a rally at Delhi's Palace of Science on December 9, 1980, L. I. Brezhnev compared this treaty with the trunk of a big tree putting out green branches. "This treaty too," he said, "is putting out more and more new agreements on ties, exchanges and cooperation. It also helps us to cooperate in the struggle for a lasting peace and just relations between peoples."

The USSR and India have laid a solid foundation for cooperation in the food, pulp-and-paper, light, medical and other industries. India's first underground railway, a transportation facility as convenient as indispensable for a large city, is being successfully built in Calcutta with the aid of Soviet specialists.

Cooperation in the field of culture, education, personnel training and tourism is also developing successfully.

The deepening and developing of Soviet-Indian relations is beneficial not only to the present-day generation in the two countries, but also to a peaceful future for all mankind.

The official friendly visit to India of L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, is a striking example of implementation of the Leninist foreign policy of peace, the Soviet Union's adherence to which was again demonstrated by the 26th CPSU Congress.

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CSO: 4220/351

VENEZUELAN FOREIGN MINISTER TALKS TO PRESS

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 1 Jul 81 pp 1, 7

[Text] Venezuela has agreed to assist India for securing swap arrangements in the supply of Venezuelan crude to India.

Petroleum Minister P. C. Sethi had made the request during discussion with Venezuelan Foreign Minister Jose Alberto Zambrano Velasco on Tuesday.

Mr Sethi sought assistance in view of the difficulties experienced by India in processing Venezuelan crude in its refineries.

Dr Velasco agreed to take up the question immediately on his return to Venezuela.

Mr Sethi said India was interested in increasing the quantity of crude imports from Venezuela and was ready to negotiate contract for the next year too.

India has contracted to import five lakh tonnes of crude oil from Venezuela this year.

He Sethi pointed out that the flexibility of petroleum refineries in India was being improved with the setting up of reprocessing facilities.

Mr Sethi also offered assistance to Venezuela in the field of drug industry and asked it to send a team of experts to explore further collaboration and cooperation.

Both sides agreed to understand each other's problems in the field of drug industry and cooperate. Dr Velasco referred to exploitation by multinational drug companies and wanted to know India's experience in this regard.

Mr Sethi informed him that public sector as well as the private sector of the Indian industry was being expanded considerably to reduce hold of the foreign companies.

He said that the equity of the foreign drug companies was being reduced. However, these were permitted expansion at the basic stage and in areas of high technology.

Dr Velasco also discussed modalities for affording reliefs to oil-importing developing countries from the excessive burden on their import bill when he called on Finance Minister R. Venkataraman.

The two Ministers exchanged views on possibilities of expanding economic cooperation between the two countries and on the need to enlarge lending by multilateral institutions for energy development projects, including oil exploration.

The question of establishing a Third World bank (by developing countries) was also touched upon.

Venezuela and other countries in the region specially Mexico have an agreement under which oil importing developing countries of that area are not required to pay for crude imports immediately.

Addressing newsmen Dr Velasco said his country had however, proposed a similar arrangement in other regions between oil exporting countries and nations with balance of payments problems. But because of distances separating their two countries, this benefit could not be extended to India, he said.

Dr Velasco said this was essentially a goodwill visit with a political purpose to a country which has a similar democracy, albeit much larger, as Venezuela. Stating that this was the first visit by a Venezuelan Foreign Minister to India, he paid rich tribute to the Indian Government and people and especially to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and the External Affairs Minister, talks with whom were very successful, he said.

"We want to deepen our relationship and make it closer", he said and added that the two nations were bound to find ways and means in economic, commercial, trade and cultural fields.

He referred to the recent meeting in Caracas last May which had for the first time adopted a resolution envisaging enhancement of North-South cooperation in different areas of trade, technology and culture, and said the idea of India and Venezuela was to quantitatively and qualitatively improve upon the prevailing agreement by which Venezuela supplies oil to India in return for Indian manufactured goods.

Speaking of the developments in Latin America, specifically in Nicaragua and El-Salvador, he said Venezuela had given sufficient help to Nicaragua not only in the sphere of oil, but also in agricultural, cultural and educational fields. This cooperation was continuing and without any conditions, by strictly respecting the sovereignty of Nicaragua. However, Venezuela hoped to see in Nicaragua a "pluralistic and democratic regime".

As for El-Salvador, as in other parts of Latin America plagued by instability, he said Venezuela and Mexico had clearly stated in the recent past that the Salvadorians should be allowed to solve their own problem politically without any form of intervention. Venezuela desired a peaceful political and democratic

solution without such intervention or super power interference in El-Salvador  
as in other parts of Latin America, he explained.

On the North-South dialogue, he said it had been suspended precisely following  
delaying tactics of the developed nations, but he hoped that the Mexico summit  
would achieve some positive results.

He further informed that Venezuela was working out a code of conduct that could  
regulate the functioning of multinational corporations in developing countries.

CSC: 4220/7145

## TRIPURA EXTREMISTS FORM GOVERNMENT-IN-EXILE

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 27 Jun 81 p 1

[Text]

AGARTALA, June 26.—The underground Tripura tribal extremists have formed a so-called "revolutionary Government" in exile, according to reports received from across the border.

Reports reaching southern Tripura areas adjacent to the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh suggest that the "Government" is functioning in one of their sanctuaries in the tract. There are several hideouts in the Chittagong hills where the Tripura rebels are being imparted training in the use of arms.

According to indications, outlawed Tripura Tribal National volunteers in Chittagong hill hideouts, who may soon emerge as members of the Tribal National Army, in the style of the Mizo National Army, have definitely forged an operational link with Mizo National Front insurgents.

A secret letter was despatched on behalf of the "Government in exile" to a local Mizo leader of the Mizo-dominated Jampui hill, along the north-eastern border of Tripura adjacent to Mizoram, to step up collection of money from villagers in the area at a rate ranging from Rs 1,000 to Rs 4,000, according to the size of a family and its resources. Significantly, at least in one case in north Tripura

recently, the cash collected by the Tripura tribal extremists at gunpoint was handed over to the Mizo insurgents operating in the area.

The Tripura State authorities are apparently reluctant to talk about the report of the formation of a "Government in exile" though they may be aware of it. More than 250 tribal young men crossed over to Chittagong hill sanctuaries for training in the use of arms and after such training many of them have crossed the most inaccessible border terrain of the north-east region since July last year. They usually cross the border in small bands.

At least 30 such Tripura tribal extremists were arrested with arms on their way back to Tripura from their Chittagong hideouts by the security forces and they gave some vital clues with regard to their operations. No details about the "Government in exile" are available, but there is panic in the Tripura villages following the combined drive by the armed Tripura tribal extremists and the Mizo rebels to collect money at gunpoint. The extremists raided a Government office recently in north Tripura. The tribal extremists have killed at least 12 local tribal leaders and workers of the ruling CPI(M) during the past few months.

CSO: 4220/7119



## MIZO, TRIPURA REBELS INTENSIFY LEVY DRIVE

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 28 Jun 81 p 8

[Text]

AGARTALA, June, 27 (PTI). MIXED gangs of armed Mizo rebels and Tripura tribal extremists have intensified their joint drive of forcible collection of 'levy' from villagers in the State's entire north-eastern border, adjacent to Mizoram and Chittagong hills of Bangladesh, according to official reports.

The reports said there was no exemption for anyone from payment of levy, collected both in cash and kind including gold ornaments, electronic sets and even food materials.

Panic and sense of insecurity have gripped the people as money and valuables were being snatched away at gun point.

Meanwhile nearly 40 youth members of the outlawed Tripura Tribal National Volunteer Force were arrested by the security force when they tried to cross over to Tripura in small bands carrying arms after receiving training in Chittagong hills in Bangladesh.

These captives were under-

stood to have given some "valuable" information regarding the underground activities. Some 225 hard-core — TNVP youths have so far received training in arms at the sanctuaries of the reserved forest in hill Chittagong in Bangladesh close to Tripura's international border with that country, it is learnt.

The TNVP, it was further learnt, had formed an "administrative set-up" in exile there in the Chittagong hill tract of Bangladesh.

CSO: 4220/7125

## TIBETANS DEMONSTRATE IN FRONT OF PRC EMBASSY

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 27 Jun 81 pp 1, 9

[Text]

JUNE 26.—Asserting that any talks between India and China over the border dispute would be incomplete without effective Tibetan participation, about 1,000 people demonstrated outside the Chinese Embassy in New Delhi today.

Later, a small group of demonstrators, numbering about 40-45 according to PTL, were arrested when they tried to break a police cordon. The demonstrators, who were carrying black flags and large banners bearing quotations from speeches of Indian leaders on the Tibet issue, shouted slogans asking China to leave Tibet.

The gathering, which consisted of Tibetan exiles and Indians, mostly students in the latter category, presented a memorandum addressed to the visiting Chinese Foreign Minister, Mr Huang Hua, asking for a Chinese withdrawal from Tibet.

Among the parties which participated in the demonstration were the Tibetan Youth Congress, Tibetan Communist Party, Tibetan Freedom Movement, Buddhist Society of India, Himalaya Bachao Sammelan and the Socialist Party.

The demonstrators said that any deal entered into by India and China would not be acceptable because the area in question belonged to Tibet. They demanded that the small Himalayan country be handed back to the Tibetan people, led by the Dalai Lama.

Extensive arrangements had been made by the police outside the embassy. About 1,000 policemen were deployed, among them being policemen from Madhya Pradesh and the CRPF. A tear-gas squad and mounted policemen were posted outside also.

Later, in the evening, the "Campaign Committee for Human Rights" comprising about 100 protesters also demonstrated before the Chinese Embassy, chanting "Hua go back" and "Chinese vacate our territory", adds PTL.

The demonstrators, led by Mr Shashi Bhushan, included a eunuch and a number of old women, who clapped and danced chanting "Sino-U.S. axis hai hai".

A memorandum was pasted outside the Chinese Embassy by Mr Bhushan and nine others escorted by policemen as Chinese dressed in Mao suits clicked from behind the embassy walls.

The memorandum demanded unconditional withdrawal of Chinese troops from occupied Indian territory and vacaton of Aksai Chin and occupied parts of Azad Kashmir.

The memorandum also urged the Chinese to recognise India's traditional and special relations with Tibet and the Tibetans' right for self-determination.

Meanwhile, the Socialist Party leaders, Mr Raj Narain and Mr Mani Ram Bagri, today urged the Centre to raise the Tibet issue during discussions with Mr Huang and arrive at a solution whereby the Tibetan separate national entity was reported.

## CPI-M REPORTEDLY WORRIED OVER ASSAM STANCE

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 1 Jul 81 p 9

[Text] Calcutta, June 30--The party sources here fear that the CPM central committee decision, taken last week, to withdraw direct or indirect support for Mrs Taimur's ministry in Assam even risking President's rule may have to be explained to the rank and file to remove possible misgivings.

At his press conference here immediately after the conclusion of the central committee session, the general secretary, Mr E. M. S. Namboodiripad had said the CPM had no commitment to safeguarding Mrs Taimur's government, and that it was a CPM motion in the assembly on which her government had suffered defeat.

Yet this does not hide the fact that the CPM and other left parties in the Assam legislature had taken a tactical position on a confidence motion that indirectly helped the new ministry to survive.

If the argument in party circles at that time was that a popular government, even in a situation of turmoil, was preferable to a bureaucratic administration under President's rule, the rank and file in other states might want to know what warranted a change in that attitude now.

During the session, important members were contacted by Assam leaders from both sides so as to get a favourable decision. A Congress (I) minister is said to have spoken to the chief minister, Mr Jyoti Basu, wanting to know the trend of the committee deliberations.

On the other hand, there is a report, confirmed by CPM sources, that the former chief minister, Mr Borbota, and Mr Dulal Chandra Barna had made an air-dash to Calcutta in a bid to persuade friendly elements in the central committee to take a decision in favour of having a non-Congress (I) government. Both sides were told in clear terms that the CPM could assist neither.

Again, as the sources say, the central committee was opposed to allow any inconsistency to continue in regard to the party's national political-tactical line and the tactics to be adopted in Assam, after projecting an anti-Congress (I) stance throughout the rest of the country in regard to domestic issues, the CPM could not prop up a Congress (I) government in Assam, even if its performance had been above reproach.

CSO: 4220/7141

## WRITER EXAMINES PROGRESS OF CPI-M IN WEST BENGAL

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 30 Jun 81 p 8

[Article by Sivadas Banerjee]

[Text] Calcutta--West Bengal's ruling left front has entered the final year of its five-year term reassured that its performance in the past four years has not led to any erosion of popular support. The recent by-election results have belied the opposition's claims to the contrary.

The state government was understandably keen on having the municipal elections and the by-elections to the assembly and the Lok Sabha be held. The outcome has a clear message for Delhi--that precipitate dismissal of the Jyoti Basu ministry will indeed be risky. Though what conclusions New Delhi has actually drawn from the poll results remains to be seen, the left front is prepared for any eventuality. There has been talk at high levels of even asking for advancing next year's general election from June-July to February.

Since a pre-election year is treated normally by any government as a period of preparations for the poll, administrative activity in the coming months will be at a low key. Indeed, this has been for quite some time already. The left front government is no longer keen to take new initiatives. Nor is the bureaucracy too eager to implement its decisions, thanks to New Delhi's attitude since January 1980. Many in the front leadership now realise how much better the Centre-state relations were during the period of Janata rule in New Delhi in 1977-79 and how great was the folly of joining the drive to pull it down.

In retrospect, political consolidation seems to have been the main object of the left front's policy decisions since 1977.

Its activity has been confined, virtually to the exclusion of the urban areas, in the rural sector where the majority of the voters live. The overwhelming victory of the CPM and its front allies in the Panchayat poll in 1978 was followed by the spread of the political organisations to the villages where none existed before.

The political bases of the front parties were further widened in rural West Bengal with "operation barga" and extensive food-for-work programme to provide at least

a meagre income to the rural communities where normally no work is available during lean seasons. Besides, a vigorous drive was undertaken to ensure a minimum wage for landless labourers, to locate land held illegally in excess of the prescribed ceilings and to redistribute the surplus.

### Impact of Reforms

These calculated measures have helped the growth of all these parties though the CPM, the leading front partner, has benefited the most. The reforms, however, have also tended to disrupt the existing social, economic and political relationships. Corruption in the administration of panchayats, flood relief, "operation barga" and other fields has earned the government and the front parties a bad name among some sections of people. Since the beginning of 1980 the latter have found a champion of their cause in the Congress (I), though the party has so far failed, due to the ineptitude and disarray of its leadership to make the best use of this opportunity.

That is not all. With the passage of time, the CPM's own class composition has acted as a brake on the implementation of progressive measures. Whether it was operation barga, minimum wage for the landless, or institutional credit for the enrolled share-croppers and beneficiaries of land redistribution, the progress was checkmated by the inter-play of conflicting interests within the ruling parties.

But recent voting figures suggest that even the partial success of its drive to ameliorate their plight has brought about a significant change in the general attitude of the rural poor towards the left front.

The by-election results also indicate that neither the urban nor the rural electorate of West Bengal, especially the middle class, has been affected by the opposition's protests against the left front government's education and language policies. Perhaps the government's plus points in this regard—free schooling, free text books for primary class children, and restoration of the normal pre-1970 academic cycle—have outweighed the negative points. The numerous supersessions of school or college administrations, which raised suspicions of the emergence of a new political vested interest in the field of education, have obviously not bothered the voters.

### Failure on Power Front

As regards the urban sector, the record of the Calcutta metropolitan development authority has been impressive, though too many items taken up within a short period have added to the citizen's discomfort. But the government's weakest point still is its failure on the power front. Despite best efforts, power supply has not stabilised yet. On the face of it, it still supinely succumbs to virtual blackmail by small groups of operatives in different power plants as well as the state electricity board.

Similarly, fresh industrial investment has remained tardy. How far this is due to the left front government's shortcomings may be debatable. The fact remains



that urban unemployment, especially among the educated, is still the bane of the state's economy. The unemployment dole, introduced by the government, has indeed been a poor substitute. Yet traditional industries have been making good profits and they all regard the approach of the left front leaders, government and trade unions to industrial relations as reasonable. Mr. Jyoti Basu's image in this charmed circle has been one of a pragmatist more than an ideologue.

On the whole, the front's conscious efforts to spread and politically entrench itself seem to have yielded dividends. The membership of CPM's youth, kisan and trade union bodies has risen fivefold but progress on the student front has lagged behind, a feature which cannot be readily explained by the leadership. The doubling of the party membership, to about 80,000 has admittedly been not commensurate with the growth of its front organisations.

This is attributed to a decline in the number of the party's middle cadres whose function is to convert, train and initiate members from among the front organisations. Their ranks have been depleted because many more of them are now involved in providing leadership to the panchayats.

Though the CPM's high command has been trying to improve matters for almost a year, its efforts have had no perceptible effect. Already many of the unit secretaries are working as panchayat functionaries and are consequently unable to do justice to either office. "Allurements of the bourgeois system" are thus causing considerable strain in the party apparatus. There have been complaints of conspicuous changes in the life style of party leaders at lower levels. Though the CPM's politburo has taken firm measures to curb the tendency, some of those against whom actions had been taken were no worse for it in the recent municipal elections.

CSO: 4220/7134

## CPI-M MEETING PASSES RESOLUTION ON INDOCHINA

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 28 Jun 81 p 8

[Text]

CALCUTTA, June 27—The Central Committee of the CP-M today regretted China's attitude towards Kampuchea and at the same time welcomed India's decision not to participate in the US-sponsored meet on Indo-China.

In a resolution released by the Central committee it extended full support to the new proposal contained in the statements of the Foreign Affairs Minister of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea to solve the problems of the region without any outside influence.

The Central committee attacked the US-inspired proposal for an international conference at the United Nations on 13 July, as it intended to provide legitimacy to the United States' intervention in the Indo-Chinese states.

It pointed out that the ASEAN countries were actually championing the US case for the induction of UN forces in Kampuchea. This would be nothing but a cover for the United States' intervention.

The Central Committee expressed regret that China was giving support to this.

It also noted the fact that even Japan warned against turning the conference into a platform against Vietnam.

The resolution appealed to the countries of the region to find solution of the problems by themselves without providing any opportunity to the outside forces to intervene.

CSO: 4220/7124

## WEST BENGAL SEEKS MORE POWERS FOR STATES

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 28 Jun 81 p 4

[Text]

**W**EST Bengal Law Minister Hashim Abdul Halim gave a call on Saturday for more powers to State Government.

Speaking at a public meeting organised in Delhi on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the Left Front Government Mr Halim said there was an urgent need for new deliberations on Centre-State relations.

The present framework, he said, was a severe deterrent on progressive state governments which wanted to implement radical programmes. As an example, Mr Halim quoted the case of a more liberal Trade Union Bill that had been passed by the second United Front Government in 1969 and was still awaiting clearance from the Centre.

On the achievements of its Government over the past four years, Mr Halim said that though much had been achieved in every field, the constraints imposed by the administrative set up and constitutional provisions had prevented several basic changes.

However, he said most of the issues in the 38-point programme which had been the basis of their election manifesto had been fulfilled.

Although the Left Front Government had inherited a legacy of severe law and order prob-

lems, industrial unrest and several other malaises from its predecessor, the scene had changed within four years, he claimed.

Peaceful industrial relations had been restored, measures had been taken to give sharecroppers and agricultural labourers rights they had never enjoyed, employment had been generated by the opening of several thousand small scale industrial units. Further one of the most important contribution of the Government, Mr Halim said, was to restore democratic processes by holding panchayat elections after a gap of nearly 16 years.

Mr Halim said, that though a law and order problem still persisted, it was created by the factional infighting within a certain political party.

Earlier, Lok Sabha MP from West Bengal Professor R C Pal spoke of the attempt by a class of people, including industrialists to collude with the Congress-I and break the Government. However, he said, the results of the recent municipal and byelections had shown that the West Bengal electorate still had confidence in the Left Front Government.

Earlier, a ten-minute documentary on the 3 April Congress-I sponsored Bangal Bandh was also screened.

CSO: 4220/7124

DETAILS OF, REACTION TO ASSAM PRESIDENT'S RULE

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 1 Jul 81 pp 1, 9

[Text] New Delhi, June 30 (PTI)--The troubled state of Assam came tonight under President's rule again after a semblance of popular government for 205 days under Mrs. Anwara Taimur, Congress (I) chief minister.

The President, Mr. N. Sanjiva Reddy, signing the proclamation, kept the state assembly under animated suspension to keep the door open for reinduction of a popular government.

The Union cabinet earlier in the evening decided on these steps after considering the report of Mr. L. P. Singh, governor, who explored the possibility of a new government being formed in place of the Taimur government. Mrs. Taimur resigned on Sunday after the leftist opposition declined to make up for the dwindling support to her within her own legislature party.

The leftist opposition did not also back a rightist opposition bid to succeed the Taimur ministry.

A proclamation to this effect was issued by the President tonight under article 356 of the constitution.

The decision to impose President's rule was taken this evening by the Union cabinet after considering the report of the governor on the political situation in the state.

Gauhati: The Union cabinet's decision to impose President's rule and keep the assembly in suspended animation in Assam has evoked mixed reaction among political circles here.

While leaders of the opposition parties, mainly the Janata and the Congress (U), and their allies described the governor's recommendation for imposing President's rule as "hasty action," Congress (I) circles felt that it was "inevitable" at the present moment.

Mr. Golap Borbora, former chief minister and leader of the Janata legislature party, said the governor should have given a few more days to the opposition

parties who had staked the claim to form an alternative ministry before sending his recommendation.

The cabinet in favouring suspension rather than the dissolution of the assembly, took into account the bleak prospects of an early election in the state with no solution in sight to the foreigners problem, informed sources said.

The dissolution of the assembly would have required a fresh poll within six months under the constitution as now framed.

The suspension on the other hand, would keep the issue open for the remaining 21 months of the present house's term.

CSO: 4220/7141



## REASONS FOR ASSAM CHIEF'S RESIGNATION GIVEN

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 1 Jul 81 p 9

[Text] Shillong, June 30—The Congress(I) high command had to drop Mrs Taimur to avoid another major "rescue" mission with its diminishing returns and embarrassment. They had to direct her to resign lest her robust optimism and near-contempt for accepted norms lead the party into unexplored and risky avenues. Curiously enough, she had been lauded in the past for her self-same obstinacy.

But, over the months, her mentors had begun to wonder whether her single mindedness was due to her naive and simplistic concepts of administration.

Her exclusive style of functioning, which had left party office-bearers and ACLP dissidents fairly distraught and emotional, is not difficult to understand. Mrs Taimur understood the logic of being made the Chief Minister in a specific context, namely, to maintain law and order and counter alleged fissiparous, even secessionist, forces in an unorthodox manner, if need be.

Having inherited a difficult situation with few options—there were few takers for the Chief Minister's post—she felt safer with fewer MLAs and officers around her. Hence her reliance on known and tried advisers. Unfortunately, these select advisers were not of the same calibre nor of one mind. She kept her opponents guessing, guarded her flanks and kept New Delhi informed or misinformed.

Her main problem was to enthuse the high command about her overall popularity which meant the ability to attract MLAs to the Congress(I) fold. Here she was unsuccessful; several VIPs had to commute between New Delhi and Gauhati to keep her afloat during the vote-on-account session in March.

The plains tribals, for instance, felt she had deliberately soft-peddled the Centre's recommendations on keeping the tribal groups homogeneous and retaining their identity, an exercise which had top priority with Mr H. C. Sarin during his short tenure at Dispur.

The Plains Tribal Council leaders understood the Government's limitations but Mrs Taimur did not understand the factors weighing with the tribal leaders. In other words, she did not grasp the nuances. And when she did, offering them

unexceptionable proposals in late March, she was too late. The PTCA leaders had lost faith in her and could not afford to repeat their performance in March, when they sponsored the no-confidence motion and voted against it.

Her handling of the tea garden MLAs was more erratic and untimely. She sought to infiltrate their ranks and weaken the vocal segment, comprising Mr Nagabanshi who resigned as Minister of State, Mr Silvius Condpan and three others. But these MLAs eventually quit the party. Observers believe that there was no need for her to have crossed swords with them.

The tea garden labour in Assam is traditionally one of the two "vote banks", the other being the immigrants. Moreover, she had perhaps promised the tea garden labourers, before coming to power, that they would be given a Cabinet berth. She chose to rub them on the wrong side from the start.

Relations with the Leftists was a marriage of convenience. But the Marxists spoke of "selective support". Their latest action in withdrawing support had something to do with the national context and their assessment that Mrs Taimur would not survive long. They may have come to the conclusion that the Congress(I) high command itself was lukewarm towards her.

CSO: 4220/7143

## DISSIDENTS STEP UP CAMPAIGN TO OUST BIHAR CHIEF

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 24 Jun 81 p 13

[Text] Patna, June 23--Despite the victory of the Congress (I) in five of the six Bihar assembly constituencies where by-elections were held recently, a group of dissidents led by Prof. Nagendra Jha, MLA and vice-president of the Bihar Pradesh Congress (I), have of late intensified their campaign for the ouster of the chief minister, Dr. Jagannath Mishra.

This group, which reportedly enjoys the backing of some Union ministers from Bihar, contends that the electoral victory of the party was largely due to the charisma of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, and not due to Dr. Mishra. Further, they maintain that the problems of Bihar have "worsened" due to increasing corruption at all levels in the past one year.

Dr. Mishra's supporters say that Mrs. Gandhi had given a pat to Dr. Mishra when he met her recently in Delhi to report on the by-election results.

Whatever view is taken of the performance of the state government, the ruling party deserves credit for winning the five assembly seats. Even the most optimistic of the Congress (I) leaders did not expect the party to win more than four seats initially. The chief minister had assiduously campaigned for party nominees in the six constituencies.

According to Dr. Mishra's supporters, the party could have won even the sixth seat if the high command had accepted Dr. Mishra's recommendation and given the ticket to Mr. Aditya Deo Singh, who had sought nomination from Misua. Denied the party ticket, Mr. Singh contested as an independent and won the seat.

While the Congress (I) was expected to win from Bakhtiarpur, Parsa and Dhanusha constituencies, its victory from Giridih and Sandesh was a big surprise. While Giridih was thought to be a CPI stronghold, the party candidate, Mr. Sidhnath Rai's chances in Sandesh were not rated high because of the influence wielded in the constituency by the Congress (U) nominee, Mr. Senadhari Singh Yadav, who held this seat previously.

The ruling party's victory in Giridih was even more impressive because its candidate, Mrs. Urmila Devi, wife of the Congress (I) nominee who died before the election in May last year, was thought to be a comparative newcomer to politics.

In Parsa also, the Congress (I) victory was impressive because its candidate, Mrs. Parvati Devi, wife of the late Mr. Daroga Prasad Rai, is a greenhorn in politics.

Congress (I) leaders campaigned hard for the victory of the party nominees. Each constituency was frequently visited by Central and Bihar ministers.

Dr. Mishra assigned ministers the task of organising the party campaign in various constituencies. The opposition parties apparently failed to match the resources of the Congress (I).

CSO: 4220/7098

## EXPULSION OF 15 CPI MEMBERS RECOMMENDED

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 27 Jun 81 p 4

[Text] Calcutta, June 26--Bengal CPI chief Biswanath Mukherjee informed the press today that the State executive of his party has recommended to the State council the expulsion of 15 members from CPI. Four of these are State council members, out of a total 120. These members, by holding so-called communist convention on 20 June, along with AICP group, attempted to split the party of the working class in the interests of bourgeoisie, he averred.

Mr Mukherjee cited many examples alleging that the State AICP tried directly to help the Congress-I during the municipal and Assembly elections, in order to defeat CPI candidates, besides other Left nominees.

In the event any party member who participated in the above convention repent his guilt and agree to mend ways, the State council may give him a chance to prove his bona fides.

The party executive also noted with satisfaction that the people of Bengal, both urban and rural, continue to repose their faith in the Left of the State. The elections have established this.

The party has decided to popularise among workers the decisions of the All-India Central Trade Union Convention. This to presage all India action by the workers against price rise, repression and so on.

Initiative would also be taken to spread and support peasant struggles, canalisation of purchase of jute by the mills through the Jute Corporation, monopoly procurement of jute by JCI at a minimum price of Rs 300 etc.

CSO: 4220/7121



## IMPLICATIONS OF GARHWAL RE POLL ORDER STUDIED

Madras THE HINDU in English 27 Jun 81 p 8

[Article by Nitish Chakravarty]

[Text]

**T**HE issues raised by the Chief Election Commissioner, Mr S. L. Sheldher's decision to conduct a fresh poll in the Garhwal parliamentary constituency can have far-reaching implications.

One of the main issues brought up is the extent of authority that the Election Commission can exercise in regard to the induction of police in a constituency where election is under way. Another issue is the circumstances under which the poll can be declared void in its entirety.

Deployment of police personnel from outside Uttar Pradesh without the Commission's knowledge, let alone permission was the main ground on which the Chief Election Commissioner set aside the polling in Garhwal constituency. In his view, though law and order is the responsibility of the State Government concerned, outside police force should not have been inducted without the Commission's knowledge.

Obviously cut up by the Chief Election Commissioner's strictures, the Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister, Mr V. P. Singh, has said enough not only to give vent to his chagrin but also to describe the decision as an encroachment on the State Government's rights. He thinks the Chief Election Commissioner has taken a narrow technical view of the legal position.

**States' task**

Mr Singh's understanding is that the right of the Election Commission to determine the question of induction of police from outside has not been accepted by anybody. Maintenance of Law and order is strictly the business of a State Government and it should be left free to decide where to get the force from and how to deploy

it. Mr Singh proposes to seek a proper definition of the Election Commission's functions so that similar controversies will not arise in future.

This is not the first time the Election Commission has had to intervene in dealing with violence during election campaigns and gerrymandering of polling. In fact instances of violence during or before elections are becoming increasingly numerous. And the reports published by the Commission after every general election make grim reading.

Gone are the tranquil days of the 1950s when no breach of law and order occurred at any of the polling stations in most of the States.

In the First General Election of 1952, wrote the late Sukumar Sen, architect of the electoral system in the country and the first Chief Election Commissioner, "There were in all minor cases of breaches of law and order at 80 polling stations scattered over the States of Assam, Bihar, Bombay, Madras, Punjab, U.P., PEPSU, Saurashtra, Himachal Pradesh and Vindya Pradesh."

**Trivial**

A total of 1,250 electoral offences were reported in connection with the First General Election of which 877 related to personation, a triviality compared to booth capturing and organised violence so common nowadays. Polling had to be adjourned only at 80 polling stations, but mostly for technical reasons including adverse weather conditions. Out of nearly two lakh polling stations in the country, polling was put off only at seven for breaches of law and order.

The most important event that attracted nationwide notice in 1962 was the defeat of Mr. Morari Desai, then Chief Minister of bilingual Bombay, at the hands of Dr. Amul Desai, a socialist, in the Buser-Chikhli double member constituency. At the conclusion of the first count, Dr. Amul Desai was found to have a lead of 173 votes over Mr. Morari Desai. A recount was promptly demanded by the latter's agent.

When the recount was in progress, some torn ballot papers were noticed in the urnal of the premises where counting was taking place. Investigations, first by election officials and later by the police, did not lead to the identification of the person or persons responsible for this.

Dr. Amul Desai was declared elected with a majority of 19 votes. Mr. Morari Desai took the result gracefully and no bones were broken.

#### Calmness

The situation in the Second General Election in 1967 appears to have been even calmer. "The Election Commission", wrote Sukumar Sen, who conducted it as well, "gratefully acknowledges the full cooperation extended by all political parties in the maintenance of law and order during the poll and generally for the successful conduct of the elections in every State. Some complaints were no doubt made by the workers of one party against those of some other rival party in a few keenly contested constituencies.

"Such complaints", says the report on the Second General Election, "are, however, few in number and not very serious in nature. The most significant contribution made by the political parties was their peaceful canvassing during the elections. The parties cooperated with the State election authorities in many ways and it was largely due to their cooperation that the task was so well accomplished."

#### Identity card proposal

Although the election was a smooth affair, it was during those days that the Election Commission mooted the proposal to issue identity cards with photographs to the voters as an insurance against impersonation. "The Election Commission", wrote Sen, "has been giving its earnest consideration to the problem of impersonation, whatever its extent may be. It has already consulted the all-India political parties in an effort to find a suitable remedy for the evil where it exists."

Setting out the details of the proposal Sen said "one copy of the photograph would be retained by the election office and supplied to the presiding officer of the voter's polling station at the time of the poll. The voter would be required by law to produce his identity card when he goes to the polling station to vote

and his identity would be checked by the polling staff with reference to his identity card. The entire cost of preparing the identity card would be borne by the Government."

It was decided to try out the scheme

in two Assembly constituencies in Calcutta. But the experiment was a failure. The reason was the reluctance of women in purdah to get themselves photographed by men. Recently, however, the scheme has been tried successfully in Sikim, and is to be implemented in the north-eastern region. The first State where every voter will be issued with an identity card is Meghalaya.

#### Free of tension

The Third General Election in 1962 appears to have been more free of tension than the two earlier occasions. There was not a single instance of adjournment of the poll on ground of rioting, open violence or natural calamities. Five cases of material irregularities like mixing up of electoral rolls were reported and in two cases a fresh poll was taken. One of these two cases was in the Phulpur constituency in U.P. which elected Jawaharlal Nehru.

There was a marked change in atmosphere during the Fourth General Election in 1967. Polling was put off at 12 stations in five different constituencies of Bihar and there was re-poll in five other constituencies in the same State. Sporadic violence was reported from Assam, Andhra Pradesh, Haryana, Madhya Pradesh, Manipur and West Bengal. At all the affected places a re-poll or an adjourned poll was held soon afterwards without the recurrence of violence.

But the "most serious incident" of the 1967 elections, according to the Commission, was the forcible entry of a number of voters in a polling station in the Barchana Assembly constituency in Orissa about an hour after the expiry of polling time. The presiding officer declined to permit them to vote whereupon the men forcibly took away two boxes full of ballot papers and hurled them into a river. But the boxes were retrieved and the papers inside were apparently found intact, for the Commission's report does not speak of a re-poll.

#### Voting by children

The Fourth General Election was the last occasion when the nation went to the polls in a relatively peaceful atmosphere. Booth capturing, false voting and violence erupted during the Fifth General Election in 1971-72. Mr. S. P. Sen, Varma, then Chief Election Commissioner, wrote in detail about the removal of ballot boxes or booth capturing on a large scale, particularly in Bihar. Another phenomenon, noticed mainly in Bihar, was voting by children aged 10 or 12.

"A question that naturally arises is who encourages the sordid practice in Bihar? Unless the politicians and political

parties not only desist from indulging in or encouraging the nasty practice of elections but also openly denounce it with a united voice in unequivocal terms, no arrangement, however, efficient it may be, can eradicate the evil" wrote the Chief Election Commissioner. The evil has spread in later years.

In spite of the best possible arrangements to ensure the safety of polling personnel and material, notorious mobs armed with deadly weapons like revolvers, pipe guns, etc., attacked polling stations, overwhelmed the security forces, threatened the polling personnel and forcibly removed the ballot boxes at 11 places in Bihar, Haryana and Jammu and Kashmir. A ballot box was whisked away under the burqa by a woman voter in the Anantnag constituency of Kashmir.

Apart from these 11 cases the poll had to be adjourned at 55 other places. But the most serious of all the incidents was the killing of as many as four candidates in West Bengal.

#### Quieter affair

The Sixth General Election for the Lok Sabha in 1977 mercifully turned out to be a somewhat quieter affair than the previous one. The Election Commission's report records 10 cases of booth capturing in Bihar, nine in West Bengal, two in Uttar Pradesh and one in Jammu and Kashmir. In all these cases a fresh poll had to be arranged. Serious rioting led to the adjournment of the poll at six polling stations in Bihar.

But an unprecedented incident occurred in the Ferozepur parliamentary constituency in Punjab. An unruly mob destroyed some of the ballot papers when counting was under way. The Election Commission ordered a fresh poll in the entire parliamentary constituency. It was held on April 26, 1977. This happened to be the first such case since Independence.

The report on the Seventh General Election for the Lok Sabha in January 1980 views with dismay what it calls "silent booth capturing". The experience of the election, says the report, shows that the directives of the Commission aimed at

eradicating the evil of booth capturing "were not followed in letter and spirit."

"Specially in cases of 'silent' booth capturing, the officers connected with the poll were hesitant to report such matters," says the report. To curb the menace, the Commission directed the returning officers to report each and every case of suspected irregularity and wait for the Election Commission's directions on them. The Garhwal parliamentary by-election is probably the first instance where the new directive has been tried out.

#### Increased workload

The number of elections has more than doubled in the last three decades — from 173 millions in 1952 to nearly 356 millions in 1980. In consequence the workload of the Election Commission has increased. But the Commission continues to be a single-member body. During the First General Election four posts of regional commissioners were created to assist the Chief Election Commissioner and two of these were filled. No regional commissioners are there now to assist the Commission.

The Election Commission has always relied a great deal on the assistance of the political parties in conducting the elections smoothly. The mushroom growth of political parties has, however, been the bane of Indian politics. "The multiplicity of parties leads to waste of energy and of votes", wrote the first Chief Election Commissioner after the First General Election.

He saw "clear signs that since the general elections, the smaller parties have been moving towards a merger or line-up with the bigger parties nearest to them in ideology. The electorate has also helped in the process by voting some of the smaller parties practically out of existence".

In 1952 there were five all-India parties and 19 State parties recognised by the Election Commission. Had Sukumar Sen been alive today he would have been dismayed to find his hope totally belied. Now there are seven nationally recognised parties. The number of State parties has grown to 25 and in addition there are 11 unrecognised parties functioning in more States than one. Maybe more will mushroom by the time the next general election takes place. ....

INDIA

CONGRESS-I GROUP DEMANDS REVIEW OF GARHWAL DECISION

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 29 Jun 81 p 5

[Text] New Delhi, June 28 (UNI)--The legal cell of the All-India Congress (I) committee has demanded that a special session of Parliament be convened to look into the constitutional validity of the order passed by the chief election commissioner for a re-poll of the Garhwal parliamentary constituency.

Mr. Padam Singh Sharma, joint secretary of the AICC (I) legal cell, said in a statement today that the impugned order of Mr. S. L. Shukdher was a breach of privilege and infringement of the rights of the citizens of a democratic country like India.

The chief election commissioner had failed to appreciate the combined effect of article 324 and 327 of the constitution of India and had ignored the basic principles of the representation of the people act, Mr. Sharma said.

The commission, without going into the depth of the allegations made by the Congress (I) against Mr. H. N. Bahuguna and his party, had taken an arbitrary decision for the re-poll. "The two-third majority in Parliament should not remain a spectator and should take immediate steps to convene a special session of Parliament to look into the constitutional validity of the impugned order," Mr. Sharma said.

He urged the President to fix the tenure of the chief election commissioner, should not be more than five years. Parliament should make further amendments in the election laws to preserve democracy in the country.

CSO: 4220/7127

**MADHYA PRADESH CABINET APPOINTMENTS ANNOUNCED**

New Delhi: PATRIOT in English 1 Jul 81 p 7

[Text] Bhopal, June 30 (UNI)--Madhya Pradesh Chief Minister Arjun Singh today announced the portfolios of his enlarged Ministry, keeping for himself 14 departments some of which, he said, would be disbursed among the three Ministers who have yet to take oath of office.

Mr Arjun Singh announced the reallocation of portfolios at a news conference.

**Cabinet Ministers**

**Chief Minister:** Mr Arjun Singh.

G Ad Home, Energy, Planning, Economics and Statistics, Publicity Tribal Welfare, Culture, Science and Technology, 25-Point Programme, Local Government (Urban) Endowment Trust, Transport and Social Welfare.

**Deputy Chief Minister:** Mr Shivbhanu Solanki; Finance, Irrigation.

**Mr Krishna Pal Singh:** Law, Legislative Affairs and Tourism.

**Miss Vimla Verma:** PWD and Narmada Valley Development.

**Mr Vedram:** Forest; **Mr Jhumuklal Bhendia:** Commerce and Industry and Mineral Resources; **Dr Tumanlal:** Revenue.

**Mr Madhavial Dube:** Food and Civil Supplies; **Dr Kanhaiyalal Sharma:** (To be announced after he takes oath); **Mr Muni Prasad Shukla:** Cooperation; **Mr Digvijay Singh:** Agriculture, Veterinary, Fisheries and Dairy Development.

**Mr Tara Singh Viyogi:** Labour and Rehabilitation; **Mr Mankuram Sodi:** Separate Revenue; **Mr Bhanwar Singh Porte:** Panchayat, Rural Development and Manpower Development.

**Haji Inayat Mohammed:** Jail Wakf and Urdu Academy.



#### Ministers of State

Mr Chandra Prabhask Shekhar: Housing and Environment (Independent charge) G Ad Finance.

Mr Revnath Choure: Public Health and Family Welfare (Ind).

Mr Nathuram Ahirwar: School Education (Ind).

Mr Hajarilal Reghuvanshi: Home and 25-point Programme.

Mr Motilal Vora: Collegiate Education (Ind); Mr B. R. Yadav: Agriculture.

Mr Rajendra Jain: Commerce and Industry, Mineral Resources, Law and Legislature.

Mr Bhawanilal Verma: Endowment and Religious Trust.

Mr Bansilal Dhritlahre: Tribal and Harijan.

Col Ajay Narain Mushran: Sports and Gymnasium (Ind), Energy, Medium and Minor Irrigation.

Mr Durgadas Suryavanshi: PWT and Narmada Valley Development.

#### Deputy Ministers

Sardar Tanwant Singh Keer: Cooperation and 25-Point Programme.

Miss Ganga Paotai: Tribal and Harijan Welfare.

Mr Satya Narain Agrawal: (To be announced after he takes oath).

#### Parliamentary Secretaries

Mr Rajendra Mishra: Attached to Mr Porte; Mr Mangal Singh Jatavi: Attached to Mr Choure; Mr Ratnesh Solomon: Attached to Mr Vora; Mr Maksudanlal Chandrakar: Attached to Mr Muni Prasad Shukla.

Mr Pratap Singh Baghel: Attached to Mr Digvijay Singh; Mr Kantilal Bhuria: Attached to CM; Capt Jaipal Singh: Attached to CM.

Mr Jiwan Sahu: Attached to Mr Tuman Lal; Mr Shrawan Kumar Patel: (To be announced after he takes oath).

CSO: 4220/7145

## BANARAS VICE CHANCELLOR'S APPOINTMENT WAIVED

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 27 Jun 81 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, June 26--Mr Surinder Singh, professor of political science at the University of Wisconsin in the USA, who was named on June 1, 1981 as the next Vice-Chancellor of Banaras Hindu University, has been reportedly asked not to join.

This is probably the first time after the appointment of a vice-chancellor of a Central university by the President, who is also the visitor, the incumbent has not joined. Mr Surinder Singh was selected from a panel of three names, which included Mr Nagchoudhary, former Vice-Chancellor of Jawaharlal Nehru University.

According to reliable sources, the appointment of Mr Surinder Singh has been waived by Mrs Gandhi when she came to know that his record was not what it should have been. Besides, being a Christian there has been a strong resentment both within and outside BHU against his appointment. "Would you dare appoint a Hindu as Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh Muslim University?", someone is supposed to have asked the Prime Minister.

CSO: 4220/7119

## KARNATAKA NEWS PAPERS SUED UNDER NATIONAL SECRETS ACT

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 27 Jun 81 p 9

[Text] Bangalore, June 26--The Karnataka Government has filed a criminal complaint under Section 5 (2) of the Official Secrets Act, 1923, against the editor, printer, publisher and reporter of the Bangalore edition of THE INDIAN EXPRESS and the KANNADA PRABHA, its sister publication, for publishing a report on a secret official communication to the postal authorities to intercept the mail and messages of certain individuals in the State.

The communication issued under Sub-section One of Section 26 of the Indian Post Office Act of 1893 and Sub-section One of Section 5 of the Indian Telegraph Act, 1885, and in force till the end of December, reportedly contained a list of 35 people in Shimoga district. It included the editor of an Urdu weekly, 10 workers of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, the Bharatiya Janata Party, the CPI(M), CPI and the Jamat-e-Islami, seven journalists, five business men, three teachers, an advocate, landlord and priest.

Mr C. M. Armugham (RPI), who raised the issue in the Assembly on Wednesday, said that the intercepting of mail and messages had been ordered under a colonial Act, which had been introduced to spy on Indian nationalists. He wanted to know the Government's reasons for ordering such a surveillance.

The Chief Minister, Mr Gundu Rao, said in a statement that the publication of secret communication would come under the purview of the Official Secrets Act and as such, it would not be proper to enter into a detailed discussion on the issue.

However, in order to "remove any misunderstandings and misconceptions", he clarified that Section 26 of the Indian Post Office Act of 1898 specifically empowered the State Government or any officer especially authorized by it to direct, in the interest of public safety, that any postal articles in the course of transmission "shall be intercepted or detailed, or shall be disposed of in such a manner as the authority issuing the order may direct".

CSO: 4220/7119

## KERALA CHIEF MINISTER TALKS TO CALCUTTA PRESS

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 28 Jun 81 p 9

[Text] Calcutta, June 27--The Kerala chief Minister, Mr. E. K. Nayanar, today gave enough indication that if the BJP should dissociate itself from the Congress(I) publicly, it might no longer remain an untouchable politically as far as his party, the CPM, was concerned.

Mr. Nayanar, who is here to attend his party's central committee meeting, told a press conference that the CPM leadership had publicly urged the BJP to do so. The BJP, in his view, did not entirely comprise the RSS, even though the latter constituted a significant section. There were people like Mr. Jethmalani in the BJP, who had nothing to do with the RSS.

Questions about the BJP and the RSS arose out of his charge about the Congress (I)-BJP electoral alliance in Kerala and about the Congress (I) instigating the RSS to whip up communalism, even as he noted that the BJP along with the Janata, had come out against the "liberation struggle" sought to be launched by the Congress (I). He would trace this isolation of the Congress (I), to the success in projecting his government as the one that worked.

He conceded the RSS' accretion of strength in Kerala, but attributed this mainly to the "disintegration of bourgeois parties" and would not accept the argument that people on the CPM fringe, after their disillusionment, might also be joining the RSS ranks. In CPM-RSS clashes the number of deaths was 30 in respect of the former and other left parties, and ten for the RSS since early 1980, he said.

## Spirit Scandal

He denied a complaint made before the Human Rights Committee about suspected Naxalites having been beaten up, including one fatally, in police custody in Wynad. Of 9 people arrested in connection with one incident in Wynad, one was a girl who had since been produced in court.

He claimed that life, and the law and order situation in particular, in Kerala was normal and the left Democratic Front government enjoyed the support of a large majority of the people. "But it appears that the Congress (I) is determined to continue its politics of abetting toppling by any means." He affirmed that the Congress (U) "would stay with us."

Mr. Nayanar had to put up with a number of questions relating to the "spirit scandal" and the Centre's inquiry commission. He maintained that the inquiry instituted by his government would continue and there was no question of "co-operating or not co-operating with the other inquiry ordered by the Centre."

In his view, the Centre's inquiry was illegal, politically motivated and not conducive to healthy Centre-state relations. It was strange that the Centre should define its terms of reference only on the basis of some Congress (I) legislators' memorandum.

Since this commission "is a clear abetment to the forces which play the politics of toppling and destabilisation," he would request the Prime Minister to review the position and withdraw the "unilateral" inquiry. When the Kerala government first proposed an inquiry by a retired judge, the Congress (I) asked for a sitting judge.

When the government conceded this demand and sought the Centre's permission to release a sitting judge, the Union government sat over it for five weeks. Without waiting further the Kerala government constituted a commission with a retired judge and the commission began its work. "Our hands are clean in this matter, so why should we hesitate to have a full-fledged judicial inquiry?" he asked.

"But within less than a fortnight of the dismal failure of the threatened 'liberation struggle', the Centre announced its decision to have the spirit issue inquired into by a retired judge of the Orissa high court. We were neither consulted nor informed about such a step at any time," Mr. Nayanar added.

CSO: 4220/7122



## AFGHAN REFUGEE INFLUX REPORTED SLACKENING

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 30 Jun 81 p 5

[Text] New Delhi, June 29 (UNI)--About 13,000 Afghans are now in India as refugees, over 8,000 of them registered as such with the U.N. office here.

The registered refugees are paid by the U.N. a daily allowance of two dollars for the head of a family and one dollar for each member.

A UNI survey showed that all but a small minority of these refugees had arrived in India by air on tourist visas only to stay on in India or to seek sanctuary in West Germany or the U.S.

The influx started after the overthrow of the Daoud regime two years ago. It intensified after the Soviet intervention last year and began to slacken six months ago.

Inquiries revealed that one reason for the fall in the influx is the heavy bank deposit of 50,000 Afghanis (about 1250 dollars) intending emigrants have to make to get a passport.

Under a system introduced six months ago, the passports are issued for only a limited period and the holders lose the deposit if they fail to return before its expiry.

Besides deposit, the passport seekers have also to pay a fee of 20,000 Afghanis. About 900 Afghans have left for West Germany and the U.S. over the last 18 months.

The survey showed that all but a small minority of Afghan refugees in India are from well-to-do or middle class families. A large number of them stay in posh localities like Defence Colony, South Extension and Greater Kailash.

CSO: 4220/7134

## HOME MINISTER REPORTS PLAN TO MODERNIZE POLICE

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 28 Jun 81 p 5

[Text]

INDORE, June 27 (UNI).

A SUM of Rs 75 to 80 crores will be spent in a phased manner on the modernisation of the police force in the country, the work for which has already begun. Union Home Minister Zail Singh said yesterday. Speaking to newsmen at the Indore Airport on his arrival from Jaipur, he said States had been asked to undertake the modernisation work speedily.

Asked if the women police force was also being strengthened, the Minister admitted that the women police was inadequate in the country. There was a need, he said to increase the police force, and it would be gone as per requirement.

Asked if the recommendations of the Dharamvir Commission regarding the reorganisation of the police would be implemented Mr Singh said the report was still under study and it was not necessary that all its recommendations should be accepted by the Government in toto.

Mr Zail Singh said the recommendations of the commission likely to help raise the image of the police and benefit the people, would be accepted and those found not suitable left out.

Referring to the border between India and Bangladesh the Home Minister stressed that the country's border needed to be strengthened and any kind of infiltration or migration needed to be checked.

Asked about the situation and prospects in Assam Mr Zail Singh said the Government wanted to solve the issue to the maximum satisfaction of all concerned and in the minimum possible period.

Later laying the foundation stone of a Rs 15 lakh Guru Ramdas Sarai near the Imli Sahib gurdwara here Mr Zail Singh said it would be unwise to equate religion with a particular province or the country as a whole, adds PTL.

Those who were demanding a separate Sikh state were lowering the prestige and image of the Sikh religion, he added.

CSO: 4220/7124

## SIXTH PLAN BASED ON LOW CENSUS ESTIMATE

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 28 Jun 81 p 5

[Text]

**D**ESPITE the fact that the sixth Plan document is hardly six months old, the projections about reducing poverty and unemployment made in it by the Planning Commission have gone awry, reports IPA.

The Planning Commission had targetted to bring down to 30 the percentage of population living below the poverty line in the country by the end of the sixth Plan period. The present percentage is nearly 50. It had also planned to make a dent in the huge backlog of unemployment that already exists in the country.

The commission had hoped to achieve this by a higher growth rate of 5.5 per cent in the gross domestic product and an increase in employment by 3.4 per cent per year as against an increase of 2.4 per cent in the labour force.

Employment in standard person-year terms in the entire economy was expected to go up from about 151 million to 185 million or an increase of about 34 million by the end of the sixth Plan. This increase of 34 million was supposed to be almost equal to the increase in labour force during the plan period.

All this was based on the assumption that the population of India was 600 million. But the latest census has put this figure at 672 million, which is about 12 million more than estimated by the Planning Commission.

Latest estimates made on the basis of the new population figure show that there would be an additional employment demand of three million person years annually or 15 million person years over the five year period.

Since the Plan had only targetted to create additional employment to the tune of 34 million person years it would mean that nearly 50 per cent more jobs than targetted will have to be created if the original target of clearing the existing backlog of unemployment is to be achieved.

If this has to be done the Planning Commission will have to find additional resources to step up the investment in the Plan. But it seems unlikely that a significant increase in the investment could be made to step up the growth rate.

The other alternative before the Planning Commission would be to try to do the best within the available resources. The commission had earlier hoped to reduce poverty by substantial redistribution of income and consumption in favour of the poorer sections of the population.

But since the population is now estimated to be much more than originally thought the same income will have to be distributed among a larger section of the population, and the earlier objective may not be achieved. The people may in fact have to be asked to reduce their consumption.

CSO: 4220/7124

## BANGLADESH TRIBALS CONTINUE TO CROSS BORDER

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 30 Jun 81 p 9

[Text] Agartala, June 29--Many of the Bangladesh tribals who crossed over to Tripura's southernmost Sabrom sub-divisional town, from the Chittagong hill tracts, alleged sporadic attacks, killings, widespread arson and inhuman atrocities on tribal men and women, mainly in Rangarh and Khagrachhari sub-division of the hill tracts by the Bangladesh security forces and local non-tribal miscreants.

Nearly 3,000 tribals mainly belonging to the Maug and Chakma communities have so far crossed Sabrom about 150 km from here, opposite the Chittagong hill tracts, during the past three days, and 2,000 more tribals were waiting to cross the border by tomorrow, the official sources said.

Two temporary relief camps have already been set up in Sabrom to provide shelter to the evacuees. More camps are yet to be set up.

An emergency medical team has been rushed to Sabrom to take care of the evacuees, especially women and children. The Tripura State Government is in touch with the Union Home Ministry and the Ministry for External Affairs. Border Security Force personnel were keeping close watch on the border situation, official sources said.

Mr Nriper Chakrabarty, the Chief Minister of Tripura, will meet the Prime Minister in Delhi tomorrow and discuss the border situation.

CSO: 4220/7136

## PROMINENT LABOR LEADER'S MURDER REPORTED

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 1 Jul 61 p 9

[Text] Modinagar, June 30—The prominent Hind Mazdoor Sabha leader, Jayaprakash, who was murdered here last evening, was cremated today in the presence of hundreds of industrial workers who struck work for the day in protest, reports UNI.

The Janata Party president, Mr Chandra Sekhar, his party colleagues, Mr Madhu Dandavate, Mrs Promila Dandavate and Mr Surendra Mohan (all M.P.s), a former Industry Minister, Mr George Fernandes, and two other Lok Dal M.P.s, Mr Ladli Mohan Nigam and Mr Satpal Malik, joined the funeral procession which wended its way through the main streets of the town.

A bandh was observed in the town. Armed police pickets stood guard at several areas.

The Ghaziabad District Magistrate told the Janata and Lok Dal M.P.s that the police had already arrested two of the accused. He said the Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister, Mr Vishwanath Pratap Singh, had sanctioned Rs 10,000 for the bereaved family.

Mr Fernandes alleged that an industrialist had a hand in the murder.

The two persons arrested are Mr Narendra Sharma, vice-president of the local unit of INTUC and Mr Jhandu Singh. Mr Sharma is stated to have been arrested at the house of a ruling party leader in Ghaziabad.

CSO: 4220/7143



## TRADE DEFICIT REPORTEDLY MAY UPSET PLAN

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 1 Jul 81 p 1

[Article by J. W. Singh]

[Text] New Delhi, June 30--Some of the sixth plan projections are likely to be upset by the trade figures for 1980-81 now available. These show a much bigger deficit than forecast earlier.

With exports totalling Rs. 6,670.40 crores and imports Rs. 12,106.18 crores, there is a record gap of Rs. 5,436 crores.

Exports have remained more or less stagnant in volume. The small increase in their value from Rs. 6,427 crores in 1979-80 to Rs. 6,670.40 crores is on account of the higher rate of inflation.

Imports, on the other hand, have touched a new high and were Rs. 1,000 crores more than the sum of Rs. 11,300 crores projected by the finance ministry at the time of the presentation of the budget.

With exports totalling Rs. 6,670.40 more or less last year's level and with foreign exchange reserves declining further, the task of resources mobilisation for the sixth plan will become even more difficult.

The balance of payments situation deteriorated sharply in 1980-81 largely because of the steep hike in the prices of crude oil and fertilisers. While India's import bill rose dramatically, exports remained sluggish due to domestic supply constraints and unfavourable world market conditions.

The foreign currency assets of the Reserve Bank of India maintained a declining trend which started in the latter half of 1979-80. The decline accelerated in 1980-81.

The inflow of Rs. 815 crores from the International Monetary Fund (Rs. 541 crores as balance of payments assistance and Rs. 274 crores for purchase of foreign currency) gave a boost to the assets, but this proved to be purely temporary.

The figures for June 5 show total foreign assets of Rs. 4,418.24 crores against Rs. 4,850.5 crores at the end of January last and Rs. 5,163.7 crores at the end of 1979-80.

In 1979-80, the reserves declined by a modest Rs. 56.20 crores. In 1980-81, the decline was more than Rs. 1,300 crores.

The first three months of the new fiscal year show no reversal of this trend. In fact, the drawdown on the reserves, which was Rs. 102.78 crores in April and Rs. 111.25 crores in May, was as high as Rs. 125.27 crores for the week ended June 5.

The net external assistance received by India has also been on the decline since 1966-67. It fell from Rs. 1154 crores in 1975-76 to Rs. 844 crores in 1976-77, to Rs. 469 crores in 1977-78 and Rs. 384 crores in 1978-79. It picked up slightly in 1979-80 (Rs. 483 crores). Taking Rs. 541 crores from the IMF trust fund, it was expected to increase to Rs. 1,459 crores in 1980-81.

India's debt servicing payments amounted to Rs. 882 crores in 1978-79 and Rs. 884 crores in 1979-80 or 65 per cent of the gross aid receipts.

CSO: 4220/7141

## TEA EXPORTS INCREASE, AFFECTED BY STRIKES

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 1 Jul 81 p 5

[Text]

CALCUTTA, June 30 (PTI).—  
Tea exports from India in 1979-  
80 rose by 31.12 million kg to  
208.46 million kg earning Rs  
384.69 crore.

The quantity and value of ex-  
port in the previous year were  
177.33 million kg and Rs 299.12  
crore respectively.

A review of the industry's per-  
formance on the export front by  
the Tea Board of India attrib-  
uted the increase to the total abo-  
lition of export duty on tea in  
February 1979 and emergence  
of new overseas buyers like  
Syria, Nigeria and Malta, beside  
resumption of trade with Maroc-  
co and Tunisia after a lapse of  
few years.

The unit value realisation dur-  
ing the year was Rs 18.46 a kg  
against Rs 20.25 in the previous  
year.

However, the review said ex-  
ports would have been much  
more but for the continued and  
prolonged strikes at Calcutta  
port as well as tea warehouses.

It said the Calcutta port from  
where as much as 70 to 72 per  
cent of tea exports took place,  
was disturbed by strikes and go  
slows by the port workers par-  
ticularly in the peak export  
months of September to Novem-  
ber.

CSO: 4220/7145

## EXPERTS RECOMMEND UNDERGROUND COAL GASIFICATION

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 28 Jun 81 p 9

[Article by Ashraff Sayed]

[Text] Gandhinagar, June 27--A three-member team of experts, which visited France, Belgium, West Germany and Russia recently, has recommended to the Union petroleum ministry that India should go ahead with acquiring the know-how for underground coal gasification (UCG) in Gujarat and Bihar.

The team, in a lengthy report, has said that these countries are not only prepared to share their experience with India, but that Belgium and Germany have shown their willingness to accept a few Indian scientists for association with their own projects to transfer the relevant know-how. While France is ready to assist India, the Soviet Union, which had already perfected the UCG technique at shallow depths, has offered to demonstrate the technology at suitable selected sites in India.

## Sites Visited

The team, consisting of Dr. Inderjit Singh, director of the Institute of Reservoir Studies of the Oil and Natural Gas Commission (ONGC), Ahmedabad, Dr. B. Singh, acting director of the Central Fuel Research Station, Dhanbad, and Mr. S. D. Mehta, technical adviser to the Gujarat government, has quoted Soviet scientists as saying that UCG is far cheaper than mining (except open-cast) even at shallow depths.

According to a conservative estimate, more than 60 billion tonnes of inferior quality coal, at the depth of 1,500 metres, is available in Mehsana district in Gujarat. The team is of the opinion that these deposits can be utilised by gasification.

The team held consultations with foreign experts connected with the UCG projects and visited many sites between May 2 to 24. It urged the Union government to send a team of scientists to Belgium latest by August this year, as the Belgian pilot project on UCG is scheduled to start by then. Similarly, scientists to West Germany should reach Aschen either in September or October to participate in the R and D work, which will be at its peak at that time.

The team also urged the government to send samples of the Mehsana coal to France and Germany for detailed analysis so that India could decide on the technological parameters for application at the Mehsana structure in Gujarat. Similarly, data in respect of a few selected shallow sites in Gujarat and Bihar should be sent to the Soviet Union for scrutiny and selection of sites for the demonstration programme.

As the current phase of UCG projects in Belgium and Germany is likely to end within a year, India should take action to participate in it immediately. The team has observed that the UCG technology is still in its "infancy" and that most of the R and D work on it is taking place in Germany and France. It pointed out that France succeeded in establishing links among its 1,000-metre-deep wells in its first experiment in February. More tests are being conducted to confirm and evaluate the results. But the main problem now being faced by France in going over to commercial scale output concerns linkages. The French UCG project was started in 1974 and the main test is scheduled for 1981.

The team also pointed out that the director of the French project, Dr. Ladent, had shown keen interest in obtaining a sample of coal lump from the 1,500-metre-deep Mehsana structure. Dr. Ladent also expressed his willingness to visit the Mehsana structure around November-December. In the meantime, Indian scientists could be involved in the French project.

The Indian experts reported to the petroleum ministry that a pilot project would commence in Belgium in August on a much larger scale than was attempted in France. It consists of four deep wells already completed for the purpose. As the Belg. - German project is about to commence and as they have offered to involve Indian scientists in their project, it is necessary that India should select some scientists and rush them to these countries.

The placement of Indian scientists is covered under bilateral agreements on R and D. India will have to pay only for the travel to Germany and Belgium. Local expenses for Indian experts will be met by the host governments.

The team reported that Russia had not developed technology for deep coal gasification, though it had perfected the know-how for shallow levels. The Soviet experts, who had sold the know-how to the U.S., had felt that deep coal gasification at the Kalol structure in Gujarat was technically feasible and would be much cheaper than mining by conventional methods.

#### Russian Projects

Currently, two projects on underground coal gasification are continuing in Russia--at Tashkent and Siberia. The Siberian project has recently been initiated and is in steeply dipping coal beds at shallow depths.

The Russian experience in laboratory R and D work does not give reliable results and, therefore, the Russians believe in carrying out pilot experiments directly in the field after thorough scrutiny of data and a careful selection of site.



The Soviet shallow coal gasification technology is also being sought to be purchased by Australia, Brazil and Yugoslavia. Russia will only be too willing to supply the technology to India, provided the coal mines sought to be used for UCG are deeper than 500 metres.

As such mines are aplenty in Bihar, the Indian government's going in for UCG technology has not been ruled out.

CSO: 4220/7122

## SOVIET EXPERTS TO START WORK ON COAL PROJECTS

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 28 Jun 81 p 5

[Text]

Soviet experts will start work next month on major Indian coal projects in Nighai, Jhanjra and Kununda and a month later on the mammoth coking coal scheme in Jharia Coalfields' Damuda Block.

The Soviet Union agreed to depute its experts ahead of schedule following a request by Indian Energy Minister A B A Ghami Khan Choudhury during his recent visit to the USSR.

The Soviet Union agreed to take up construction of the large-scale coal washery plant in Jharia by 1984-85. The plant on completion will produce about three million tonnes of washed coal every year.

Soviet Minister for Coal Industry B F Bratchanko also agreed to Mr Choudhury's proposal for development of the coking coal mine in Damuda to produce coking coal for the steel plants at an early date. The Soviet side was sympathetic to India's anxiety that work on the

coal projects should start as soon as possible.

They also accepted the proposal to receive Indian workmen and apprentices for advanced training in mining technology the Soviet Union.

During his Soviet visit, Mr Choudhury held discussions with chairman of the state committee for economic relations S A Skachov, Soviet Energy Minister P S Neporoshny besides the Minister for Coal Industry. The talks were reported to be wide-ranging.

Mr Choudhury discussed important coal and power projects like Nighai, Mukunda, Jhanjra and also measures for improving mine safety and training of personnel with Soviet assistance.

India and the Soviet Union also discussed the introduction of new technology in coal gasification and supply of sophisticated mining equipment by the Soviet Union.

CSO: 4220/7124

## BHEL EVOLVES WASTE HEAT RECOVERY SYSTEM

Madras THE HINDU in English 29 May 81 p 9

[Text] Tiruchi, May 28--Bharat Heavy Electricals, Tiruchi, now engaged in several R and D exercises for tapping energy from wastes has successfully evolved a "Waste heat recovery system" (WHR) and rigged a boiler and turbine to generate power from waste gas.

The first such WHR boiler will be erected in the Namrup fertilizer plant shortly. BHEL Tiruchi is making three sets of 12 MW each waste heat recovery equipment-boilers and turbines for the Namrup plant.

An effort to install such waste heat recovery boilers in metallurgical plants in the country is being made by BHEL.

In an interview with THE HINDU here on Wednesday, Mr M. K. Sridhar, Executive Director and Group General Manager, BHEL Tiruchi, said that the WHR system equipment was cheaper for a 10 MW plant and might cost around Rs 5 to 6 crores.

### Improved Working of BHEL Sets

Mr Sridhar said that thanks to the sustained monitoring of various thermal plants and the joint fact finding mission of the Central Electricity Authority, BHEL, Instrumentation Ltd, Kota and the State electricity boards concerned, areas of bottlenecks and deficiencies had been identified, components replaced and modifications carried out.

Mr Sridhar said that a separate monitoring cell at the Tiruchi unit was receiving telex messages daily of power generation in all thermal plants in the country with relevant details. This helped the cell to rush supplies or counsel or men to any plant which warranted immediate attention.

The thirteen 210 MW sets with BHEL equipment commissioned up to March 1981 in various parts of the country had reported a record generation of 779 million units for the first 22 days of this month, which reflected an average plant load factor of 55.5 per cent. The performance average for the previous five months for these sets was: December 55 per cent, January 55 per cent, February 48.8 per cent, March 48.8 per cent and April 50.7 per cent. The fall in February and March was due to the Obra and Satpura plants with 30 per cent plant load factor.

Mr Sridhar said that BHEL had now taken up the responsibility of designing a boiler which would handle any quality of coal. Also based on experience with the 13 sets in the past six months, BHEL had decided to incorporate all the modifications in its new 210 MW boilers.

Though BHEL, Tiruchi had targeted for 2,300 MW of power equipment during 1980-81 (1,800 MW thermal and 500 MW hydel) it could not meet the target because of the delay on the part of West Bengal in Bandel (210 MW), DVC-Durgapur (210 MW) and Talcher 110 MW. For 1981-82, it had targeted for 3,450 MW of power equipment-- 2,700 MW thermal and 750 MW hydel.

#### Ancillary Development

As regards ancillary development, Mr Sridhar said it was time entrepreneurs in Tiruchi changed their product mix. While 55 per cent of the production of 1,14,000 tonnes till 1981-82 would be offloaded to the ancillaries, additional production from 1982-83 would be offloaded in the Ranipet ancillary complex.

A separate indigenous cell had been constituted at the sub-contracting wing of BHEL, Tiruchi, to catalogue the items which entrepreneurs could take up either with their own or BHEL know-how or with foreign collaboration.

CSO: 4220/7149

**IMPORTANCE OF RAJASTHAN ZINC FIND NOTED**

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 1 Jul 81 p 6

[Text] Jaipur, June 30--The latest find of zinc-lead deposits in the Rampura-Agucha area in Bhilwara district of Rajasthan promises to be a bonanza.

Exploratory drilling done so far indicates that the lead-zinc ore reserves may be around 45 million tonnes. Earlier, it was believed that these reserves might be of the order of 35 million tonnes.

The estimated increase in the deposits of lead-zinc ore may help the country achieve self-sufficiency in the current decade. Earlier, it was estimated that India may become self-sufficient in these scarce metals by the turn of the century.

Advancement of ten years in achieving self-sufficiency in this field may help usher in industrial revolution in the country.

Zinc and lead are the main raw materials for the defence industry. They are also used in the manufacture of automobiles, industrial cables, communication equipment, printing machines, high-grade paints and electronics equipment.

India requires 120,000 tonnes of zinc and about 50,000 tonnes of lead every year at present. At least half of its requirement is met by imports which means an annual drain of Rs. 120 crores in foreign exchange.

**High-Powered Panel**

The projected demand in 1989-90 is 180,000 tonnes of zinc and about 70,000 tonnes of lead. The entire demand is likely to be met by indigenous resources by 1990.

Hindustan Zinc Limited (HZL), a public sector undertaking, has been granted lease of the Rampura-Agucha deposits. The HZL is being assisted by the directorate of mines and geology of the Rajasthan government.

In view of the importance of the deposits, the Union government has appointed a high-powered committee to monitor the progress of investigation and to advise on measures to complete exploration as early as possible. The committee members are



experts from the planning commission, bureau of public enterprises, department of mines and the ministry of steel and mines.

The committee held its recent meeting at Rampura-Agucha and its members were informed that against a target of 15,500 metres of drilling up to March 1982, more than 10,563 metres of drilling had been completed till March last.

The HZL has also engaged the Mineral Exploration Corporation of Nagpur for excavating the incline and conducting level-drive tests for collection of bulk samples of the ore. So far, 61 metres of the incline has been excavated and the entire work is likely to be completed by November next.

Steps have also been taken to prepare a pre-feasibility report for setting up new smelter. Stoleberg of West Germany has been engaged for this purpose. The consultants have visited Udaipur and other probable sites in western India for location of a one-lakh tonne capacity new smelter.

No definite conclusion can be arrived at this stage about the location of the new smelter. But the large size of deposits and availability of other infra-structural facilities indicate the possibility of the smelter being located somewhere in Rajasthan.

An important fact about the deposits in Rampura-Agucha is the superior quality of zinc and lead. At present, zinc and lead being excavated at Zawar mines in Udaipur have a concentration of between 3.2 per cent and 4 per cent. But the concentration of the deposits at Rampura-Agucha is estimated to be between 11 and 14 per cent.

CSO: 4220/7141

**'HUCE ESCALATION' IN FERTILIZER PROJECT COSTS REPORTED**

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 1 Jul 81 p 5

[Article by G. K. Pandey]

[Text] New Delhi, June 30--The delay in taking decisions regarding the location of six gas-based fertiliser plants and the laying of pipeline for transportation of gas has resulted in a huge escalation in project costs.

The revised cost estimate of these projects is placed at Rs. 3,000 crores against the earlier estimate of Rs. 2,400 crores.

Apart from the increases in cost of these projects, delays in their implementation will also mean more reliance on imports.

Financial provision for all these projects has been made in the sixth plan. According to planning commission sources, all these projects have to be taken up during the current plan.

Allocation of funds will thus not mean any problem for these six projects of crucial importance, which would go a long way in meeting the growing demand for fertiliser in the country. What really has to be seen is how quickly the ministry of petroleum and chemicals finalises the location and the pipeline alignment.

Inquiries from official sources show that the official committee headed by Mr. K. C. Sharma, had submitted its report on the location of these projects in early May. On the basis of this report, the committee headed by Mr. Lavraj Kumar has to decide on the pipeline alignment.

**Pipeline Alignment**

Mr. Lavraj Kumar told this correspondent that the "issue of pipeline alignment and the location would be decided shortly." He said that the data provided by the Sharma committee was being fed to a computer to finalise the locations and the pipeline alignment.

The delay was due to the failure of the Sharma committee to submit its report within the stipulated period of three months. The location committee was

constituted in October and it was expected to submit its report by early January this year. This committee, however, could not finish the task assigned to it because the state governments had to be involved in identifying the locations. All this meant unavoidable delays, official circles said.

The government had decided to set up one plant of 1,350 tonnes of ammonia capacity per day in Madhya Pradesh and another of a similar capacity in Rajasthan. Four plants of 1350-tonne ammonia capacity are to be set up in Uttar Pradesh.

The ministry of petroleum and chemicals would have to take yet another decision regarding the ownership of these plants.

According to indications available here, one of these plants, either in Madhya Pradesh or Rajasthan, would be assigned to the public sector enterprise, National Fertiliser Ltd. In fact, the department of chemicals and fertilisers has asked the NPL to go ahead with the feasibility report for their new project. In addition to the NPL, two private sector giants have evidenced interest in setting up gas-based plants.

This means that the decision regarding the ownership of five out of six plants has yet to be decided. These plants may either be handed over to the existing public sector companies in the field of fertiliser or new companies are incorporated for this purpose.

Fertiliser experts say that each month's delay would raise the project costs by Rs. 30 crores.

CSO: 4220/7141

## INDIA TO COOPERATE IN SENEGAL FERTILIZER PROJECT

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 1 Jul 81 p 8

[Text] Indian Farmers Fertiliser Co-operative Limited (IFFCO) has undertaken to participate in a Rs 300 million dollar fertiliser project in Senegal, a joint venture to produce phosphoric acid and solid phosphate fertilisers, based on rock phosphate available in that country.

IFFCO managing director L. R. Talwar told newsmen on Tuesday that it would be the first venture abroad by the fertiliser industry of India and expressed confidence that many more would follow in future.

He said that out of Indian share capital of Rs 17.7 crores, about 21 per cent of total share capital, IFFCO would contribute Rs 8 crores.

Mr Talwar said that India would get an assured supply of 1.10 lakh tonnes of phosphatic fertiliser annually from the joint venture at international price.

Mr Talwar said the total production of IFFCO with the commissioning of Phulpur plant and Kandla-II had increased from 8.96 lakh tonnes to 18.96 lakh tonnes of fertilisers per annum.

Projections for 1981-82 production are 7.6 lakh tonnes of urea and 8.50 lakh tonnes of NPK from its operating units--representing an increase of 53 per cent over 1980-81.

Mr Talwar said IFFCO found itself free to take up another fertiliser project out of the 10 gas based plants contemplated by the Government for the sixth plan.

The new fertiliser project, proposed to be set up based on Bombay High gas will have a capacity of 1,350 tonnes of ammonia per day with associated facilities for its conversion into urea or urea and nitro-phosphate complex fertiliser.

The project will cost between Rs 500 and Rs 700 crores depending on a final decision on product pattern.

Mr Talwar said the commercial production after test runs of Phulpur Ammonia-Urea complex built at a cost of Rs 205 crore with a World Bank loan of 109 million

dollars had been 70 per cent as against the all India average of 53 per cent for nitrogenous fertiliser plants for 1980-81. At cent per cent capacity utilisation the Phulpur unit will produce five lakh tonnes of urea annually for distribution to farmers in Uttar Pradesh and adjoining States.

He said the Rs 28.5 crore IFPCO Kandla expansion scheme went on stream on 4 June this year, one month ahead of schedule. The test runs had been completed successfully. The Malathion plant at Kalol in Gujarat, built at a cost of Rs 1.38 crore and with an annual capacity of 500 tonnes of Malathion (technical grade), has also gone into production.

Mr Talwar added that IFPCO was likely to earn a net profit of Rs 14.5 crores in the current year ending June. It had earned a total profit of Rs 134.34 crore in six years, he said.

CSO: 4220/7145



## SIHANOUK DISCUSSED PERSONAL, KAMPUCHEAN FUTURE

## Debunks United Front

Bangkok THE NATION REVIEW in English 11 Jun 81 p 4

(Two-part Article by Jacques Bekaert)

[Text] PARIS — Prince Norodom Sihanouk flatly denied that he ever wanted to form a patriotic united front including the Khmer Rouge with the intention of ousting the Vietnamese forces.

But, he said, the international pressure on him was so great that he conceded and signified his acceptance of a role in the united front though not as its leader.

"I never wanted to form a united front with the Khmer Rouge," he said. "I still have the most awful memories of what happened to the FUNK after April 1975."

"But any one who lived under the terrible Khmer Rouge regime, who suffered like my family did, will never want to see them back in power."

He said he had not wanted to form a united front with the Khmer Rouge even if it meant liberating his country.

"But," he said,

"the Chinese, the Americans, ASEAN, the Japanese and many others have forced me into a united front. I would have resisted those pressures if it were not for the Mouli-naka and some smaller pro-Sihanouk groups because it is only by joining a united front I can get some aid from them, (the Chinese), not much, just crumbs."

Before, he said, only the Khmer Rouge, and to a more limited extent Son Sann, were getting arms and supplies.

"As you know, I am just back from Peking," Sihanouk said. "I had two long meetings with

(Chinese Foreign Minister) Huang Hua.

"What did I get? Nothing."

"It took a last minute meeting with (Senior Vice Premier) Deng Xiaoping to receive finally the promise that the Chinese would provide a Sihanoukist army with enough weapons to arm 5,000 men. Hope-

fully, we will get them."

According to the Chinese stipulation, the united front must comprise three parties — the Khmer Rouge, Son Sann and his front and the Sihanoukists.

"One thing must be clear: I'm in such a front just as a member," Sihanouk said before reverting to his talks in Peking.

"Deng Xiaoping told me in Peking: 'Prince Sihanouk, you are the chief of state of Democratic Kampuchea, and Son Sann will be the prime minister'. I said: 'Very good for Son Sann. I agree. But not for Sihanouk.'"

"Why? First, as you know, there is some tension between Son Sann's people and the Sihanoukists. It is based more on personal feelings than on serious political differences."

Son Sann's people are very ambitious. They conducted their own private talks with the Khmer Rouge long before I met Khmer

Sann in Pyongyang.

"Son Sann wanted full control of the Khmer Rouge Machine. Of course the Khmer Rouge refused. But I understand Son Sann. You can't trust the Khmer Rouge. All they want at this point is to use Son Sann or Sihanouk, because we are more respectable men. But what they really want is power, as in 1975."

"Secondly, if I am the president of the united front, whether I have real power or not, I'll have to bear full responsibility for Khmer Rouge actions."

"Heng Samrin, the Vietnamese, the Soviet Union are presently involved in a big propaganda campaign against me. They tell the Cambodian people: 'Sihanouk was behind the Khmer Rouge, the murderers of Kampuchea.' Now it starts all over again. 'Sihanouk is working with the Khmer Rouge,' hand in hand."

Questioned about his thoughts on the future of Kampuchea, Sihanouk said it should not be linked with his own future. "I have to take a back for the time being, to keep some options open for the future," he said.

"At present," he said, "some of Son Sann's people seem to volunteer to try to work with the Khmer Rouge. I'm afraid that will be a failure."

"Let's have no illusion. The Vietnamese are still pretty strong. They are proud and tough. They have no intention, right now, to bend in front of the Khmer Rouge or China."

"What we should do, what a united front could do is not to dream of a military victory but we have to isolate Vietnam and the Soviet Union on the political and diplomatic front."

Sihanouk said that the UN General Assembly must be prevented from recognizing the Heng Samrin-Pen Sornan regime in the hope - it is a faint hope - that one day, after trying everything and failing, Vietnam and the Soviet Union will agree to an international conference like the one in Geneva in 1954.

Calling himself the "King of compromise," he said that a compromise must give every party a chance to save face. Along these lines he gave the following postulates:

"1. Neutralization of Cambodia. Austria is a good example. After World War II,

the major powers agreed to the neutralization of Austria with international guarantee. So far it has worked very well.

"2. Complete disarmament of all forces in Cambodia, after Vietnamese withdrawal. The UN resolution on Kampuchea speaks of 'all foreign troops'. I insist on this point not just to keep the Khmer Rouge quiet. Let's not forget the Heng Samrin army."

"People tell you: 'They are not worth mentioning'. I am not so sure. The Vietnamese army may leave the country but they could very well 'stuff' the Khmer army with Vietnamese soldiers, speaking and acting like Cambodians. A lot of Cambodians speak Khmer with a Vietnamese accent, so it would be very natural and no one will notice at first. If there is no disarmament, we will have two strong armed, two Communist armies, the Khmer Rouge and the Heng Samrin forces ready to fight. They will mean another civil war, and more involvement by foreign powers. And maybe the end of Cambodia."

"3. Free elections after disarmament and the presence of an international peace-keeping force. Everybody should be able to take part in the election - the Khmer Rouge, Heng Samrin, Son Sann, myself, any one. And let the people decide."

Sihanouk considers that such a political solution is the only one possible, and the only chance for Kampuchea. He said that

everybody could then save face and finally the people would have the chance to make the decision as to what kind of regime they want.

"That's why I don't want to be the president of any front or anything else right now," he said. "I want the people, my people to have the first chance to decide."

"Son Sann, who is a good man, lacks charisma. And the people will ask: 'What about Sihanouk?'"

"I'm very frank about this. I would be glad to be president of a front but not of one that includes the Khmer Rouge. I will not fight them. Maybe one day China will understand that a Sihanouk who is not a Khmer Rouge puppet is a lot better, politically speaking."

"Nationalist front?" he asked in response to a question. "Why not? I asked Mr Nhek Tioulong and Mr In Tam to meet with Mr Cheam Van (a representative of the Son Sann front) and explore the possibilities of a nationalist united front."

"As far as I know Son Sann is still hesitating. I fully understand his reservations about the Khmer Rouge. He told someone that the atmosphere should first improve before our meeting."

"I guess by that he means I should stop 'teasing' him in my writings in my various publications. But you know I do all this with a touch of humour. It is nostalgic. And you

should see some of the pamphlets and posters written by members of Son Sann's front, insulting me or my wife."

"Of course, if we have a nationalist front this stupid little war should stop right away. The nationalist alliance should be different from the united front. It is important to show the world that the nationalists are united."

Obviously the prince is pessimistic about the chances of a united front. But some of his closest advisers, including In Tam are just coming to France with active support for the front, even ready to take a leading role.

The time is ripe for action, ASEAN diplomatic sources said. They understand very well the necessity to link Vietnamese withdrawal with strong guarantees to prevent the Khmer Rouge from returning to power.

According to other sources here, a meeting between Son Sann and Sihanouk could take place very soon, before the ASEAN foreign ministers conference in Manila next week.

In the interview it emerged that Sihanouk may agree to lead the resistance front but only after the Khmer Rouge question has been solved. This may take time but only time, in his opinion, will prove to everybody that the Khmer Rouge will be wrong horse to win in any political race.

Sihanouk expects to stay in France until early next year.

Bangkok THE NATION REVIEW in English 5 Jul 81 p 10

[Text] Earlier last month, Jacques Bekaert, The Nation's Roving Editor went to interview Prince Norodom Sihanouk in his villa in the south of France.

The political part of their long conversation was published in The Nation on June 11. Among other subjects the Prince exposed his 3-point plan for Kampuchea (Neutralisation of the country, general disarmament, and free elections supervised by an international peace keeping force).

Today he talks about various topics from Thailand to refugees, from his former friends to what he may do in the future...

**T**HE CRITICS, and they are many, called it a "palace." "Look around," Sihanouk told me. "Would you call this villa a palace?" No, indeed.

The Prince's villa is rather modest. There is certainly nothing imperial about it. Named "Kantha Bopha" after one of his daughters, the house is alongside Mougins main road.

Almost directly opposite is a noisy garage. By all means it is not the most expensive or the most exclusive location of the French Riviera. But the small garden is pleasant enough.

Norodom Sihanouk, former chief of state of Cambodia, would make even the worst journalist look good. Because he must be one of the most talkative and frank politicians around.

His favourite subject, I should say his passion, his obsession is—what else? — Cambodia. His country, his people. He can go on for hours.

He speaks in a high pitched voice that has become a trademark. At times you wonder

if — through you — he is not addressing the whole world.

He can be charming, pathetic, dramatic, persuasive or angry. And many journalists and politicians made the mistake to think he was more a clever comedian than a real statesman.

It was Richard Nixon's mistake from the time of their first encounter in 1953. It was to be a lot of other people's error in the following years. Norodom Si-

hanouk is no saint. He made mistakes, some of which he will be the first one to recognize. But he is not just a comedian.

His passion for his native land is sincere, absolute and unquestionable. Because he recognized quite early that fragile Cambodia could only survive through compromises, he became in his own words "an acrobat walking on a dangerous tight-rope."

"I was about to succeed. Cambodia was not at war. But Lon Nol came, pushed me down. Everything after that was chaos."

More than ten years in exile, in detention, in relative poverty have of course affected the Prince. When we met he was rather pessimistic about the future.

"To keep backing the Khmer Rouge is crazy. They have no future. Most Cambodians hate them. With reasons. To think that a military victory is possible is totally idealistic. The Vietnamese are tough cookies. Our only chance is through compromise. The only reasonable solution will be a political one. Everybody must be given a chance to save face."

"If we fail then little by little, country after country will get tired of the Kampuchean problem. They will recognize Heng Samrin."

"Who knows, one day even Thailand may do so. Thailand is a realistic country. If they see this as the only way to get to some kind of no-

*duo vivendi* with Phnom Penh they will probably tell Son Sann, Nhem Sophon and all the other resistance groups at the border: "Look, you are very nice, but we have to think about our national interest first. Give back the weapons. We don't want to harm you but... and it will be understandable. A lot of people think I dislike the Thais. Wrong! A thousand times wrong. I sincerely believe the Thais are fantastic. I have told my fellow citizens many times: you should be as smart as the Thais!"

"Look at Thailand today. It is a prosperous, free and independent nation. Everybody else was colonized. Not the Thais. They understand politics and I understand them

very well. Maybe too well. It's like when you look at a pretty woman and

you can see through her clothes. Some don't like that...."

Later we took a short walk in the tiny garden around Villa Kantha Bopha. Prince Sihanouk showed me the car. "It's not mine. It belongs to a friend. I have nothing left. But my poverty is my honour."

As we talked, someone brought a huge bouquet of flowers. The word is getting around the Khmer community in France that the Prince is back.

"I have very few illusions left. Not so long ago Mr Pham Van Dong who used to call me his dear friend told French TV I was a "finished man." He does not even answer my letters anymore.

I have seen most countries of the world. Believe me, Cambodia is very much alone. We have been deceived by so many. We have so few real friends...."

I asked him: Do you think, Monseigneur, that one day you will go back to Cambodia?

Sihanouk, the minute before so vehement and passionate becomes almost another man. He pauses for a while. Obviously, this is not a pleasant subject.

"No. I'll be sincere with you. No, I don't think I will ever see my country again. And God knows if I would love to! If I go back now, I will be accused, as I have been many times already, to be a traitor, to compromise with the Vietnamese. If I go back they may also kill me. Lon Nol made that

"mistake." If he had killed Sihanouk, his regime may still be there. The Khmer Rouge made the same mistake, because Mao and Chou En Lai asked them not to kill me. Heng Samrin and Pen Sovan may have learned the lesson.

"If everything fails, I'll ask Thailand permission to come and live somewhere in a little house between Bangkok and Aranyaprathet. My friend Kin Il Sung already promised me to pay the rent. And I will work in the refugee camps. I can help. I would love to die not too far away from my country. Close to my people. I'm getting old. It is time to think about death."

As I leave, while Prince Sihanouk waves me goodbye, another bouquet of flowers is delivered.



## ELECTIONS CREATE POLITICAL CONFUSION, UNREST

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 5 Jul 81 p 5

[Article by Aditya Man Shrestha]

[Text] Although observers have expressed satisfaction that the May 9 elections in Nepal have helped advance the cause of democracy in the country, they have not quite cleared up what had been a murky and confusing political picture even before the first ballot was cast. Following is the on-the-spot report filed by the author.

THE net outcome of the general elections held in Nepal last May 9 for the unicameral national legislature seems to be political confusion.

Weeks after the results of the elections were tabulated, Nepal's political situation looks as murky as before the elections.

Nobody in the 140-member legislature has emerged as the clear leader with enough following to form a new Cabinet.

The problem arises from Nepal's legislative rules that require the support of at least 60 per cent of the legislative members for a new government. The old rule only called for 51 per cent of the legislative membership.

In the absence of political parties, no individual has yet emerged as a leading figure who can muster mass support of the entire body.

Nepal's national legislature is a house of divided political and ideological loyalties. This can be gleaned from the number of candidates—more than 1,000 in all—who contested the 112 seats in the legislature. The 28 other members are nominated by the King on their own individual capacity.

The outcome of the May

elections reflected no common political and economic programmes in the minds of voters, while casteism and communalism were clearly uppermost in the voters' mind when they cast their ballots.

Instead, the elections only reaffirmed the still widespread sectarian feelings and little of the programmes of government espoused by the candidates.

Still, political observers have expressed satisfaction that the general elections called by King Birendra after a 22-year hiatus, have helped advance the cause of democracy in Nepal.

## ELECTORAL EXERCISE

But participation in the electoral exercise by the population was far from satisfactory. Egged on by advocates of a boycott movement spearheaded by the anti-establishment left and liberal democratic forces, almost half of Nepal's eight million registered voters stayed out of the polling places.

Of the ballots cast, which represented 52 per cent of registered voters, 6 per cent were declared invalid.

Participation in the polls in the

densely-populated southern belt of the country was considered impressive, and even King Birendra was reportedly pleased.

But the overall electoral verdict was a shock to the Government, many of whose "official" candidates were roundly defeated in the elections.

Although Prime Minister Surya Bahadur Thapa was elected by his Dhankuta constituency by an overwhelming majority, many of his political lieutenants were trounced.

But despite the electoral setbacks of many of his political allies, Mr. Thapa still carries the largest number of the new *Rastriya Panchayat* (National Legislature) with him. Coupled with the support of the Palace, Mr. Thapa is expected to retain the prime ministership without much trouble.

Two others are vying for the post-former Premier Dr. K.J. Singh, and Mr. Lokendra Bahadur Chand, the outgoing chairman of the National Panchayat — but both lack the political savvy and shrewdness of Mr. Thapa.

The trouble facing Mr. Thapa, observers here say, is not in the rivalry for the prime minister's post, but in running the House governing the nation.

The House will be peopled by individuals of diverse political and



ideological inclinations, many of whom owe little or no loyalty to partisan groups.

Political unknowns have joined the House crowd, with no established partisan loyalties.

Mrs. Nani Maiya Dahal, for instance, is an illiterate village woman, who has made her way into t.

(as published) village worker, her overwhelming victory at the polls has taken many seasoned politicians aback.

Mrs. Dahal's election is considered a repudiation of government policies.

Mrs. Dahal was not the political neophyte who rode the crest of public discontent with the establishment to victory. At least 20 other constituencies elected new, young and radical candidates to represent them in the National Legislature.

## NEW MEMBERS

These are the new members who are expected to create trouble for the establishment law-makers.

Already, observers are talking nervously of problems ahead in the National Legislature. They fear that with the cabinet made up of people with widely divergent political persuasions and economic attitudes, the new Government may have little left to address itself to the worsening economic problems, unemployment and campus unrest.

Since there is no political bond binding the members of the *Rastriya Panchayat* together in support of an individual leader, political instability is expected to haunt the new Government.

The worst fear is that if the general elections, the first held on the basis of adult franchise under the partyless political system, only produces chaos, the political exercise last May 9 may be the last for the country for a long time to come. - *The Muslim-Depthnews Service.*

CSO: 4220/350

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**31 JULY 1981**